Ritual dynamics in late modernity

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The case of the emerging field of collective commemoration

William R. Arfman

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Contents

Preface

In 2008, the University of Heidelberg in Germany organized an international conference on "Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual", in all likelihood the largest conference dedicated solely to the study of ritual so far. The aim was to address such questions as why rites are invented and by whom, how variable they are, how new media effect old rites, and when and why rites die out.[1] Hosting panels on everything from ritual transfer to ritual agency and from ritual design to ritualized space and objects, the conference brought together some 600 participants, almost half of whom presented papers, which were eventually published in a five volume conference proceedings.

I personally attended this conference, although I did not present a paper. Instead, I came to be inspired. Earlier that year, I had attended a summer school on ritual and media organized by the same Heidelberg-based "Ritual Dynamics" research center, after having decided to follow up my Master's degree in archaeology from Leiden University with one in religious studies at this same institution. I knew I wanted to write my second thesis on ritual change, a topic I had become fascinated with while writing my first thesis, which dealt with the cultural continuity of contemporary ancestor veneration in Mexico.[2] The summer school, although a very worthwhile experience, had only tangentially touched upon the subject, however, leaving me wanting more. The conference provided just that. The panels covered rites from all over the world and throughout the ages, although the focus was clearly on present day ones. In addition, these rites were approached from a plethora of theoretical vantage points. It became clear to me that in all of this "ritual dynamics" constituted an umbrella term roughly referring to "stuff that happens to, with, or through rites." Or, put differently, it dealt with the myriad ways in which rites were anything but static. I came away from the conference eager to address such topics myself as well.

The conference also inspired me in another way. In several panels I came across researchers of the Refiguring Death Rites research program of the Radboud University Nijmegen, in the Netherlands. One topic presented by them caught my attention in particular, an artistic project called *Allerzielen Alom* or "All Souls' Day All Around". In this project, artists had been transforming nighttime cemeteries into a setting for ritual commemoration of the dead. The presenters made clear that these ritual events were aimed at everybody, independent of religious affiliation. They also mentioned how the initial concept had been inspired by the Mexican *Días de los Muertos* or "Days of the Dead". With the topic bearing clear ties to my previous thesis, while also presenting an interesting case of ritual

1 "Conference Structure," SFB 619 Ritualdynamik, http://www.rituals-2008.com/4/index.php.

2 William R. Arfman, *Visiting the Calvario at Mitla, Oaxaca : A Critical Look at the Continuity of a Religious Practice* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2008).

change in my own country, I realized it would suit perfectly as the topic for my second thesis, which eventually ended up dealing with the role of material culture in the emergence of this new ritual phenomenon.[3]

The research I conducted both for that thesis and during my time as a research assistant in the Refiguring Death Rites program served as the first stepping stone towards this dissertation. I was not fully satisfied with how I had dealt with the ritual dynamics involved, however. When being forced to approach the topic from a different angle in order to apply for a PhD vacancy at the University of Tilburg, one that was part of a research program dealing with the remaking of religion and church in contemporary plural society, it became clear what the problem had been: scale. The *Allerzielen Alom* project and its spin-off projects had only been one piece of a puzzle. In order to understand the full dynamics involved, I had to take similar developments within the churches into account as well, which meant addressing my preconceptions regarding the inherent static nature of ecclesial ritual. Doing so, I found, not only allowed me to better understand what was happening with the *Allerzielen Alom* projects, but also with similar projects both inside and outside the churches, as well as with the position ritual dynamics was taking up in our late modern times in general. This dissertation aims to bring these findings across, both those dealing with the kind of rites dubbed collective commemorations here, and those dealing with ritual dynamics in late modernity.

Of course, this research would not have been possible without the help of others. Here, first of all, I would like to mention all those who participated in the research, whether by providing me with the detailed information needed for the construction of my database, by making time available for me to interview them, or by welcoming me among them during meetings of all kinds, as well as during the rites organized in such meetings. In particular, I would like to thank Marian Geurtsen, Hans van Achthoven, Tiny Thomassen, Hans de Waal, Dick Vogelezang, Lia van Berkel, David van Veen, Bert Kwast, Joke Sieraad, Alice Loeters, Jaap Knip, Maurice van der Put, and Linda Jansen. I would have never been able to come to my insights if you had not been so willing to share yours with me.

On the academic side of things I would first of all like to acknowledge the opportunity granted to me by the Tilburg School of Theology. Although I was a strange duck in the pond, I was never made to feel anything but welcome. Here, of course, particular gratitude goes to my principal supervisor, Professor Staf Hellemans, whose critical remarks over a good glass of Belgian beer never failed to put me back on track and whose passion for sociology helped me ground my more anthropological leanings in a wider societal context. Gratitude also goes to my second supervisor, Professor Gerard Rouwhorst, whose knowledge of the history of Christian liturgy helped put what I was studying into a bigger perspective in that regard as well. I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge Professor Ab de Jong for making me confident enough to keep pursuing an academic career, and Professor Eric Venbrux and Dr. Thomas Quartier of the Radboud University

3 William R. Arfman, *Analysing Allerzielen Alom : Material Culture in an Emerging Rite* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2011).

Centre for Thanatology for having granted me the first opportunity on that path. Gratitude also goes to Leiden University for letting their alumni make full use of the university library facilities, including the study booths in which much of this dissertation was written.

The core chapters of this dissertation were initially written as journal articles. The first of these articles appeared in the *Journal of Contemporary Religion* and was extensively rewritten to form chapter three, as well as parts of chapter two.[4] The second article appeared in the *Journal of Religion in Europe* and was slightly rewritten to form chapter four.[5] The third article, finally, is currently under review for the *Journal of Ritual Studies* and appears here, also slightly rewritten, as chapter five.[6] I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the editors and anonymous peer reviewers of these three journals. In addition, I would like to thank the publishers of these journals for allowing me to reuse the rewritten versions of these papers here. I am also thankful to the various members of the Noster network group on new spirituality for proofreading these papers and to Michelle Rochard for correcting my English. All of your remarks no doubt prevented me from looking too foolish.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all those friends and family members who supported me. In particular, I would like to thank my parents, Gerrit Arfman and Leida Arfman-Ilbrink, my sister, Annemiek Arfman, and my colleagues, Roshnee Ossewaarde-Lowtoo and Cyril Kuttiyanikkal. Finally, but most importantly by far, I want to thank my partner, Corinna de Regt. Without you guidance, love, and patience I would not have been able to initiate, let alone finish this project. You taught me that one's passions are always worth fighting for.

4 William R. Arfman, "Innovating from Traditions: The Emergence of a Ritual Field of Collective Commemoration in the Netherlands," Journal of Contemporary Religion 29, no. 1 (2014).

5 William R. Arfman, "Liquid Ritualizing: Facing the Challenges of Late Modernity in an Emerging Ritual Field," Journal of Religion in Europe 7, no. 1 (2014).

6 William R. Arfman, "Revising the Ritual Design Paradigm," Journal of Ritual Studies (under review).

Introduction

On the 2nd of November 2011, All Souls' Day, a large beam of white light shone up into the evening sky of the small Dutch town of Oudewater, attracting all kinds of people to the Catholic Cemetery. Many of these people had no idea what was going on. A bunch of curious boys dragged their parents along after soccer practice on the adjacent sports field, while a group of people with learning disabilities did the same with their supervisor while out on their daily evening walk. Others knew a bit more as they had read something in the newspaper, or had seen a flyer in someone's window. Then there were those who had attended the previous year and had decided to return, often bringing along additional family members or good friends to show them what was going on as well. The final group of visitors arrived a bit later than the rest, as they had decided to go to the All Souls' Day service in the local parish church first.

Although the event all these people were attending is called *Allerzielen in 't Licht,* or "All Souls' Day in the Light", it does not seem to be a traditional All Souls' Day celebration. Instead, judging from the reactions of those attending, it appears to be something rather new. This is indeed the case. The first instance of *Allerzielen in 't Licht* took place in Oudewater in 2010 on the initiative of a liturgist working at the diocese of Rotterdam. As the name indicates, the cemetery is illuminated for the occasion in various ways, both with artificial lights and with a variety of torches, braziers, and tea lights. It is not just set up as an opportunity to visit a beautifully illuminated cemetery at night, however. A variety of rites are on offer too. This is to say that those who visited the event in 2011 came across multiple volunteers as they walked around the cemetery. Each of these volunteers presented the visitors with an opportunity to commemorate their dead through one of a variety of small ritual acts developed for this occasion.

Clearly being of a ritual nature[7] and having started so recently, *Allerzielen in 't Licht* provides us with an interesting case of ritual dynamics. However, it is not just its newness that makes the case interesting; ritual dynamics is about more than inventing new rites after all. Scholars of the "Ritual Dynamics" research center of Heidelberg University, for example, have stated that such dynamics are observable on multiple levels. In particular, they distinguish three such levels, i.e., the level of the dynamics of history, the level of social dynamics, and the structural dynamic level.[8] Each of these different levels highlights different issues.

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7 Throughout this text "ritual" is used to denote the second order generic concept, while "a ritual" or "a rite" (and their plurals: "rituals" and "rites") refers to one of the particular practices that is described with, or studied through, this concept. The defining characteristics of this concept are that these practices are recursive, symbolical, and performative to at least a certain extent.

8 Michael Bergunder et al., "Preface to the Series "Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual"," in *Grammars and Morphologies of Ritual Practices in Asia*, ed. Axel Michaels, et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), v.

The historical level, for example, emphasizes things like traditionality, while the social level focuses on topics such as institutionalization and the different types of agents involved. Similarly, at the structural level issues of design and performance get highlighted.[9] Each of these levels can also be identified in the *Allerzielen in 't Licht* case. Comparing this new ritual event to the All Souls' Day service in the church sounds like a particularly promising research strategy in this regard, as it would allow one to study the different degrees of traditionality, the different kinds of agents, and the different styles of ritual design involved in these two types of rites. Regrettably, such a limited comparison would also mean missing the bigger picture. When seen within its wider context, *Allerzielen in 't Light* reveals itself as part of a much larger phenomenon.

A first indication of the Oudewater event being part of something larger becomes apparent when it is taken into account that it is in fact part of a bigger project taking place at multiple parishes in the diocese of Rotterdam. There are also other events and projects of a similar ilk at other parishes, Catholic cemeteries, and even Catholic schools. These, of course, are in addition to the normal All Souls' Day services taking place throughout the country. And, it is not just Catholics organizing these kinds of things. Protestants nowadays come together annually to commemorate their dead as well, burning candles for them and even looking at involving the cemetery in doing so, despite historical qualms against such Catholic practices. Finally, there are more and more of these types of rites outside of the churches as well, organized by nursing homes, public cemeteries, funeral companies, and even art collectives. In fact, *Allerzielen in 't* Licht was originally based on an artistic ritual project, which is called *Allerzielen Alom* or "All Souls' Day All Around". What all these rites have in common is that they distinguish themselves from other death rites by focusing on the collective commemoration of the dead in general. In order to understand fully the various levels at which ritual dynamics can be identified and investigated, it is important to take the whole of this phenomenon in consideration. This dissertation sets out to do exactly that.

The importance of taking the entire phenomenon into account, rather than just studying the ritual event in Oudewater, is that some issues play out on different scales. This is particularly true for the level of social dynamics, which could refer both to macro-social issues as well as to the kind of social issues which play out on a micro-social scale. As a result of the latter, the three levels of ritual dynamics distinguished above have been distilled here into four questions, each of which will be handled in a separate chapter below. First, however, chapter one will seek to define further the specific ritual category we are dealing with, and will introduce the research methodologies used to study the rites within that category, i.e., a combination of online research and ethnographic fieldwork. Next, in chapter two, the level of social dynamics is addressed on a macro-scale by arguing that we are in fact dealing with a ritual field of collective commemorations that spans traditions, denominations, and groups. In the third chapter, a question is asked on the level of the dynamics of history, namely, what role tradition has played

9 Bergunder et al., "Preface to the Series," v.

in the emergence of this ritual field. Here, the argument is put forward that we are dealing not so much with what Hobsbawm and Ranger called "the invention of tradition" as with what is dubbed "innovating from traditions". The fourth chapter goes back to the social level, albeit this time on a more local scale. It asks how the agents involved in these rites deal with the challenges inherent in late modernity, by which is meant the period of time starting roughly in the 1960s, which for some time was also referred to as post-modernity but is now generally considered to be just another phase within modernity. The way these people organize their rites is dubbed "liquid ritualizing" in comparison to older, more rooted forms of ritualizing. The fifth, and final, chapter concerns itself with the structural dynamic level by tackling a paradigm within the field of ritual studies which focuses very much on what is called "ritual design". By looking at examples from the ritual field investigated here, it concludes that certain aspects of ritual are in danger of being neglected by those studying rites in this manner.

As each of the four main chapters tackles its own question, they can be read as separate inquiries into the same subject matter. Taken as a whole, however, they also build upon one another and bring forth a final, more fundamental, issue which is addressed in the final section of this dissertation: If all of the different levels at which ritual dynamics are at play within the ritual field of collective commemoration are taken into regard, what does this tell us about the position of ritual, and its dynamics, in our late modern world? It is by considering this final question that the wider relevance of this dissertation becomes apparent as well. Not only can rites of collective commemoration be considered a telling example of what is happening with ritual in our current times, ritual itself can be taken as a telling example of what is happening to religion and culture in late modernity.

Chapter 1

Collective Commemoration

When wanting to study a relatively new phenomenon, one of the first issues one stumbles upon is how to delineate the subject matter. In the introduction we already saw the first outline of such a delineation come to the surface. It was determined that we are dealing with ritual practices, that these rites concern themselves with commemoration of the dead, and that, unlike many other such rites, they are collective. As a first delineation, then, we might dub the category at play here "rites of collective commemoration". This chapter serves two purposes. First of all, it serves to define this category of "collective commemoration" more precisely. Secondly, it serves to introduce the data on which the four chapters to follow are founded, as well as the methodologies with which they were acquired. It has to be noted that the methodology used consisted of two stages, each with its own methodological approach. The first stage concerned the construction of a large database of various rites of collective commemoration and served as the foundation for chapters two and three. The second stage consisted of ethnographic fieldwork regarding six cases selected from the database. Chapters four and five are based on the data coming out of this fieldwork stage.

Defining Collective Commemoration

When a ritual commemoration is called collective, this could refer to two different things. It could refer to those who are commemorating, but it could also refer to those who are being commemorated. Rites of commemoration can be performed by particular individuals, by specific groups of people, or by people collectively. At the same time, they can be performed in honor of a particular individual, for a specific category of deceased, or for the dead in general.

When distributed along two axes, these two parameters create a table containing nine fields (see Figure 1). On the first line we see examples of an individual commemorating another individual, such as a deceased friend, a particular group of deceased such as the war dead at a visit to a war memorial, and finally, and much less common, the dead in general, by burning a candle for them at home. The second line shows examples of rites of commemoration conducted by particular groups for an individual, such as a fan club for their idol, or for a category of deceased such as soldiers conducting a ceremony for their fallen comrades.[10] On the third line, finally, are listed examples of rites of commemoration conducted

10 No example is given for a group of people commemorating the dead in general as this is an even less common occurrence than individual commemorating the dead in general.

Commemorated / Commemorating	Individuals	Groups	Collective
Individually	Visiting a friend's grave	Visiting a war memorial	Burning a candle for the dead
As a Group	Fans commemorating their idol	Commemorating fellow soldiers	n/a
Collectively	Commemoration of Princess Diana	Commemoration Day	All Souls' Day

Figure 1: Types of Commemoration

collectively. The well-known commemorations that took place for Princess Diana serve as a good example of how individuals are commemorated collectively. The second example given here, the Dutch Commemoration on May 4th, is one in which a particular group, the war dead, are commemorated collectively. Another example would be the commemoration of deceased children on the second Sunday of December, called World Wide Candle Lighting. This leaves the final field, exemplified by the traditional Catholic All Souls' Day celebrations, which concerns rites that are collective in both senses: they bring large groups of people together to commemorate the dead in general. This final category is what we are dealing with here, rites that are collective in both senses. The rites conducted at the Catholic cemetery in Oudewater are again a good example of this. Not only was everybody welcome to participate here, there was also room for all the dead to be commemorated, not just an individual or a certain sub-category. Rites of collective commemorations, then, are defined as rites in which people collectively commemorate the dead in general.

Creating a Database

With collective commemorations having been defined, a first step has been taken towards delineating the wider phenomenon being investigated. The definition given, however, still only roughly sketches the outlines of this phenomenon, leaving several issues open for contention. These issues are in essence methodological in nature; they concern the question of which data are taken into consideration for further analysis and which are not. More particularly, in this case, they concerned the question of what got to be listed in the database and what did not. Some of these decisions will be further explored below, followed by a discussion of the sources used for the construction of the database.

A first methodological consideration concerns the decision to focus on the organizational dimension of the rites in question, looking predominantly at the development of these rites over time and at the people involved in these

developments. In comparison, little to no research has been conducted into the composition, motivations, and experiences of the people attending these rites. There are two reasons for this decision. The first is one of convenience: time simply did not permit another dimension to be added to an already rather broad study of the phenomenon at hand. The second, and more fundamental reason is that methodology always needs to fit the questions being asked. In this case, the questions asked orient this study much more towards the organizational dimension than to an experiential one. This being said, chapter four actively reflects on the impact this choice of viewpoint has on understanding the subject matter and strives to compensate for it as much as possible given the methodologies at hand, while trying to open vantage points which future research into collective commemorations could explore.

A second set of considerations for constructing the database pertains to the various organizations involved in this phenomenon. First of all, this concerns two Christian denominations, i.e., Protestants and Catholics. These denominations were used as the first two subcategories for the database. As a result of the organizational focus delineated above, however, it was decided not to assign rites to these subcategories according to their theological content, but according to their institutional context. In other words, rites were designated categories according to their organizational affiliation. As such, a rite organized by a Protestant church but which is ecumenical or even secular in its contents would still be assigned to the Protestant section of the database. This is not to say, of course, that the traditions of commemoration pertaining to each of the subcategories used in the database are not important. In fact, these will be subject to detailed discussion in chapter two. As a result of this decision, the database has no subcategory for ecumenical rites of collective commemorations. Although such rites do exist, they are very rarely organized by specifically ecumenical organizations. Instead, the vast majority of rites which could be qualified as ecumenical were affiliated with one of the other subcategories. Rites of collective commemoration with Islamic, Jewish, Hindu, Wiccan, or other affiliation have not been included in the database either, as research showed that the extent to which such rites exist, they did not seem to be part of the larger phenomenon being investigated here.

That being said, Catholic and Protestant collective commemorations far from exhausted the entirety of organizational affiliations evident within the phenomenon at hand. Many rites, in fact, were not affiliated with any religious institution at all. These are, instead, organized by healthcare institutes, funeral companies, or by more diffuse collaborations of interested parties. Being much more institutionally diffuse than the other two subcategories, it proved impossible to subdivide these remaining rites into meaningful categories. As such, these remaining rites were all simply categorized non-ecclesial. This means that this third and final category is not completely of the same kind as the two previous ones, a fact that seriously inhibits any (quantitative) comparison between the three categories.

One final note to be made is that for reasons mostly of convenience, the Catholic and Protestant subcategories were delimited somewhat further by restricting investigations to their largest organizational entity. This, respectively,

concerned the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church in the Netherlands. This meant that rites organized by the so-called Old-Catholics, as well as those few rites organized by the Protestant fringe denominations, which chose not to be part of the 2004 merger between all the major Dutch Protestant denominations, were not take into consideration.

A third set of considerations for the creation of the database regarded the sources to be used. Having to acquire much data in a relatively small amount of time, an online research strategy was opted for. Broadly speaking, three types of websites were consulted to acquire that information. The first of these was a wide variety of sites hosting event calendars. Several of the Dutch dioceses, for example, have a section of their website dedicated to special events organized in their parishes. Similarly, the large funeral insurance companies who, in the Netherlands, possess their own funeral homes, usually also have a calendar on the company website that lists the activities hosted at their various locations. In addition, there are several websites dedicated to dealing with grief and loss who also host extensive overviews of events related to this topic throughout the country. The second category concerned websites of newspapers or public broadcast channels, especially those with a religious background. Interestingly, many of them noted the phenomenon under discussion here as well, and ran features on the subject. As such, using the built-in search function of these sites yielded a plethora of newspaper articles, television clips, and radio fragments in which interest in collective commemoration throughout the country was discussed in detail. Problematically, however, only the more high profile ritual events would be featured in these first two categories of websites. To remedy this, a third category was also looked into, namely, the websites of the actual churches, nursing homes, independent funeral companies, and artist collectives organizing collective commemorations. To get an adequate cross section of these types of sites, use was made of targeted search engine queries based on an extensive keyword list formulated by the author. As in the first category, relevant information was most often presented in event calendars, except that the events were of a strictly local character.

In particular, data was sought on the town where a rite took place, when the rite was performed in the year, in what years it took place, and who organized it. In addition, a short description of the actual ritual practices taking place was also included in the database. One disadvantage with these three types of sources described above, however, was that the respective websites served different audiences. This meant that not all the data needed to fill the database was presented in each occasion. A news feature, for example, will tell you when a new initiative began whereas an event calendar might not. Likewise a parish website might inform you of the actual ritual activity that is commonly performed in their commemoration, while the website of a nursing home might neglect to do so. In some cases other websites, or cached versions of the same site, could be consulted for the missing data. In many other cases, however, the additional information was sought by contacting those involved in the organization of the commemorations in question. More concrete examples will be given below of the exact procedures

this involved so as to further elucidate this methodology and show how it fed into the following fieldwork stage.

Acquiring Data

As can be seen in Appendix 1, the final database contained over 250 different rites of commemoration, of which 68 entries appear in the Catholic section, 62 in the Protestant section, and 142 in the non-ecclesial section. Together, these data points give a wealth of data for further analysis, as we will see in the chapters that follow, particularly chapter two and three. First, however, a few examples will be given of how precisely data was acquired. This will serve to contextualize the database itself, make it easier to read the entries, while also giving a somewhat more comprehensive image of the phenomenon at hand. One important point to keep in mind when examining the database is that no subdivisions should be considered numerically significant. The methodology chosen simply does not allow for quantitative comparison, except maybe in the roughest of terms. The overrepresentation of non-ecclesial rites is a case in point, telling us more about simple accessibility of data than anything else.

In some cases, acquiring data was easy. This concerned, in particular, the large projects that have their own dedicated websites. The Catholic *Nacht der Zielen*, or "Night of the Souls", is a good example.[11] The website for this project gives a description of the kind of practices associated with this project, the four locations where it has been organized, i.e., Venlo, Roermond, Wittem, and Zenderen, in what year it started in each of these locations, and in two cases in what year it had been terminated again.[12] It also gave an overview of the different organizations involved, i.e., a youth church, a monastery, a chapel, and a local organization for church and society. Some further investigation of these organizations showed the project's affiliations to be clearly Catholic, thereby determining what subcategory it should be placed in. In addition, the then current version of the website was saved offline for future perusal, as well as a copy of an online newspaper article on this project. Something very similar was possible with a project already alluded to in the introduction, namely, *Allerzielen Alom* or "All Souls' Day All Around".[13] Here, too, the project had its own website,[14] which detailed its origins and its practices, hosted a calendar showing where and when the project took place, and who organized it. In addition, it hosted a wealth of newspaper clippings and other documentation on the project itself. In cases where information was not complete, a website for a particular installment of this project or a particular spinoff of this project was easily located, generally providing the missing data.[15] In several cases not associated with larger projects, the required data was also relatively easy to acquire. This concerned cases in which the introduction of a new rite within a

11 See, for example, entries C20-C24 of the database (appendix 1).
12 "Nacht Der Zielen," Lint door Limburg, http://www.nachtderzielen.nl/index.php.
13 See, e.g., entries N008-N011 of the database.
14 "Allerzielen Alom," Stichting Allerzielen Alom, http://allerzielenalom.nl/.
15 E.g., N014, N022, N023, or N097.

certain setting, or striking changes to an existing rite, was reported upon through a (local) news outlet or on the website of the organization hosting the rite. In these cases all of the required information would be covered immediately or, if not, further information on the organization's website would fill in the gaps. A good example is the Protestant church in Barneveld,[16] where the minister extensively reported on the church's website[17] on the opening of a "commemorative corner" in 2006 and the role this would play in the commemorative service. The availability on this same website of liturgical booklets for this particular service showed this initiative to have been continued in the following years. Information on the vast majority of non-ecclesial cases, both those associated with large projects and the independent ones, fall into this first category, again showing the higher accessibility of information regarding these rites. In all of these cases offline copies of the relevant websites were made as well.

As said in the previous section, however, in many cases not all information required was readily available online. In these cases use was made of the digital contact information found on the websites of the church, company, or other organizations associated with the rite in question. Mostly this concerned e-mail addresses of the organization itself or a person within the organization, or sometimes contact forms were used instead. In roughly one-third of all the entries in the database this procedure was required. Here not all replies were equally useful. In some cases, like the Tuindorp church in Utrecht, the respondent was kind enough to ask around internally and compile a complete historical overview of when each new addition to the service was introduced, complete with pictures.[18] In other cases e-mails were not responded to, even after several different attempts using different e-mail addresses, or nobody could be found who could answer my questions. In these cases the results were not entered in the final database, resulting in some missing case numbers. Most cases, however, fell in between those extremes in which case some e-mailing back and forth led to a sufficient amount of data to justify a rite to be entered into the database. One aspect of this approach that has to be emphasized is that the information acquired this way relies completely on local knowledge. In some cases, responses made reference to having used personal or church archives.[19] Mostly, however, the answer instead relied on the memory of the person responding, or of those he or she consulted. The website of the Protestant church in Tytsjerk, for example, showed up on a search engine query regarding the use of liturgical flower pieces in commemorative service.[20] The website, however, did not provide any details on when this custom had been introduced. When asked about this, the respondent answered: "As far as I can remember this is a fixed custom within our congregation since around 1990." From the way this answer is worded, it will be clear that the periods listed

16 See database entry P62.

17 The particular page on which this information was detailed has since been taken offline, but a copy of the page was saved offline by the author.

18 P46.

19 E.g., for P24, P37, C33, and C47.

20 P39.

in the database in cases such as these should be taken as general indications rather than exact dates, as memory is not a very reliable source where (local) traditions are concerned. In addition, in some cases dates were only available for the introduction of specific changes rather than for the rite as a whole. This was particularly true for the church services, given their longer histories. However, given that the chapters to follow predominantly concern themselves with broad new developments and that in doing so the exact dates of individual cases are not crucial, neither of these issues is of major concern. For rites falling in this category, copies were saved of both the relevant website and of the e-mail correspondence.

Finally, there have been a few cases where more extensive contact took place. In these instances it was not so much missing data that served as the reason for such contact, but rather the impression that the person in question was particularly knowledgeable about certain aspects of the phenomenon being investigated. E-mail correspondence with the liturgist behind the "All Souls' Day in the Light" project, of which we saw the Oudewater installment in the introduction, for example, proved that she was not only very knowledgeable about this project but could also point towards other interesting projects, such as the above mentioned "Night of the Souls". As such, an actual interview was conducted with her as well. Similarly, e-mail correspondence with a woman who was a volunteer at a Protestant church in Veenendaal showed that she could not only answer my question regarding liturgical flower pieces in her own congregation, but that she had in fact been instrumental in the original project that had made these flower pieces popular throughout the country.[21] In this case, an appointment was made for a short interview over the phone. Another example was a volunteer working at a cultural center in Beverwijk, where he had helped set up their collective commemoration, which revolved around telling stories of the dead.[22] In this case, their decision to stop organizing this evening gave occasion for wanting to learn more through a full interview. As can be expected, these cases of more extensive contact were highly influential in getting to understand what the phenomenon under investigation here was about. And, in several instances, this contact was elaborated upon further in the subsequent fieldwork stage, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Conducting Fieldwork

For the fieldwork stage of the research, six cases were selected from the database on the basis of a set of criteria aimed at providing a good overview of the general trends while also making comparison viable. The goal was to select cases which could be considered telling examples of their particular subcategories, being at once representative *and* illustrative.

The first of these criteria, and the most obvious, was that a case was to be selected from each of the three subcategories used for the database: one Catholic case, one Protestant case, and one non-ecclesial case. Secondly, in order to be

21 P09.
22 N080.

able to study changes over time, it needed to be likely that the collective commemoration in question would not only be organized in 2011, but also in the following year. Thirdly, the case would have to be more or less representative of the general trends in its setting as they could be gathered from the database. This criterion also included being roughly representative of the kind of agents involved with the organization of the commemoration to the extent it was possible to glean such information from the database. Fourthly, of course, organizers needed to be willing to be interviewed and let the author conduct participant observation. Finally, overlap in dates was to be avoided so as to make sure that participant observation was possible for all the chosen cases.

Next, after the initial three cases were chosen and fieldwork was conducted during the 2011 cycle of commemorations, three additional cases were selected. This time the goal was to complement the data gathered during the first cycle and get a more comprehensive image of the breadth of possibilities within each setting. In principle the same criteria applied as the first time, but since the goal was to create a more complete image, an attempt was made to include types of commemorations that were not yet represented by the first three cases but were deemed relevant nonetheless. In addition, this served to address a comparative issue that arose with the first batch, where the non-ecclesial and Catholic case could be described as ritual events while the Protestant case was a more classic church service. As such, the second batch consisted of a more event-like Protestant commemoration, whereas the Catholic and non-ecclesial events were more service-like.

As a result of these selections, fieldwork in 2011 was conducted on the "All Souls' Day in the Light" project organized by the Catholic Saint Francis parish in Oudewater, on the Eternity Sunday church service at the Protestant congregation "De Goede Reede" in Veenendaal, and on an offshoot of the *Allerzielen Alom* project organized by a non-ecclesial project team at a cemetery in Velsen. In 2012, the following rites were added to this list: the All Souls' Day church service, which was also organized by the Catholic Saint Francis parish in Oudewater, the Requiem concert with ritual interlude organized by the Protestant "De Ark" congregation in Reeuwijk, and a non-ecclesial commemorative meeting at a crematorium in The Hague.

At each of the six locations qualitative semi-open interviews were conducted with two key figures in the organization. These interviews were recorded. Apart from elucidating the roles of these key-figures, these interviews also served to identify important local developments and the involvement of other relevant individuals with this particular collective commemoration, both past and present and both locally and elsewhere. In addition to these interviews, all six cases were studied through participant observation, which in these cases was not only conducted during the commemorations themselves, but in most cases also involved quietly attending all sorts of preparatory meetings, workshops, and evaluation sessions. Where possible, the author also volunteered for helping out during the actual collective commemoration itself, thereby gaining access to those volunteers only involved on the actual day the rite was performed. In order not to disrupt the

natural flow of occurrences any more than needed, no audio recordings were made of these meetings or any of the conversations during participant observation. Instead, extensive notes were made, often in private. Of the commemorations, recordings were made where this was possible in an unobtrusive manner, unless easily accessible recordings were already being made by others. Appendix 2 shows an overview of the various interviews that were conducted and the occasions for participant observation which presented themselves.

Having defined collective commemorations, and having discussed the ways in which the phenomenon described in the introduction has been investigated, the following chapters will each inquire further into this matter. In chapter two, such inquiries will revolve around the question of what type of phenomenon we are in fact dealing with.

Chapter 2

The Emergence of a Ritual Field

In the introduction, a contemporary ritual event was described which took place on the evening of All Souls' Day at a Catholic cemetery in the Dutch town of Oudewater. It was claimed that this event could be said to be part of a larger phenomenon, with similar collective commemorations being found in other Catholic parishes, in Protestant congregations, and even outside the churches. This chapter sets out to explore further that claim. How should such rites be classified or categorized? How do these Catholic, Protestant, and non-ecclesial rites relate to one another? Can these various rites even be said to be part of one phenomenon if they are affiliated with different institutions? In light of such questions it will be argued that we are in fact dealing with something that can be dubbed a "ritual field".

As a first step towards researching the phenomenon at hand, a database of collective commemorations was constructed, as we saw in chapter one. This chapter makes use of that database. First, however, the concept of fields will be explored based on Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam's work on strategic action fields. The various criteria for describing a social phenomenon as a field that come out of this section will then be applied to the contents of the database in the three sections that follow. In the penultimate section, the findings of these three sections will be combined and analyzed further so as to determine the validity of the claim made above. Finally, the concluding remarks discuss how this ties into the issues raised in the three chapters to follow.

Strategic Action Fields

Based on more than twenty years of theoretical deliberations, bringing together ideas from such various academic fields as social movement studies, organizational theory, economic sociology, historical institutionalism in political science and the likes of Bourdieu and Giddens, Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam recently formulated "an integrated theory that explains how stability and change are achieved by social actors in circumscribed social arenas."[23] These social arenas are called "strategic action fields" by Fligstein and McAdam and range from organizations to clans and from supply chains to governmental systems.[24] Here, "strategic action" refers to "the attempt by social actors to create and maintain

23 Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, *A Theory of Fields* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.
24 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 9.

stable social worlds by securing the cooperation of others."[25] Fields, in other words, are the results of skilled social actors, which can both be individuals and actor collectives, working towards a common goal. It has to be noted that these fields always exist within an environment of other such fields.[26]

With their main interest being the complex dynamics of emergence and stabilization, Fligstein and McAdam's integrated theory is of great relevance for our current attempt to better understand the emerging phenomenon under investigation.[27] One of their crucial observations is that fields are always in some sort of flux, with minor disagreements and incremental change being the norm rather than the exception.[28] As such, they argue fields can be found in one of three states: being not yet unorganized but emerging, being organized and stable but changing, or being organized but unstable and open to transformation.[29] Of these states, the first is obviously the most relevant here. Luckily, Fligstein and McAdam pay it due attention. They describe an emerging field as a social arena that is not yet organized but in which two or more actors are oriented towards each other. This will create a highly fluid situation in which agreement does not yet exist, but were emerging goals and interests are nonetheless shared, forcing these actors to take one another into account.[30] Fligstein and McAdam distinguish four things in particular which are shared in a strategic action field. The first is a shared understanding of what is at stake within the field. The second is a shared understanding of what position various actors occupy. The third concerns a shared understanding of what the "rules" of the field are. The fourth concerns a shared understanding of how to make sense of what others are doing.[31] It is important to stress, as was noted above, that consensus will always exist only to a certain extent, with fields always being in some sort of flux. As such, even highly conflicted fields can exist for extended periods of time.[32] Much also depends on whether such shared understandings are based on coercion or cooperation and whether the field is organized as a hierarchy, with one group being dominant, or as a coalition, with various more or less equal groups working alongside each other.[33] Of course, as each of these groups could be described as a strategic action field itself as well, this means that fields could also be said to be made up of other fields either functioning alongside each other in a coalition, or nested one inside the other in a hierarchical fashion.[34]

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25 Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields," *Sociological Theory* 29, no. 1 (2011): 7.
26 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 3-4.
27 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 6.
28 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 12-13.
29 Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory," 11.
30 Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory," 11.
31 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 10-11.
32 Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory," 12.
33 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 15-16.
34 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 9.

According to Fligstein and McAdam, an important question regarding the emergence of a completely new field concerns specifying the conditions under which this takes place.[35] They draw particular attention to the role of surrounding fields, arguing new fields are most likely to emerge near existing ones, in particular in the empty spaces between them.[36] In fact, even the very opportunities for the construction of new fields can often be traced back to changes in proximate fields.[37] Actors from these other fields are likely to migrate towards this new field while new forms of organizing, as well as new ideas and practices, can be borrowed from them as well.[38] As such, the role of skilled social actors functioning as institutional entrepreneurs is particularly crucial to understanding the emergence of a field.[39] They are able to assess a situation as an opportunity and appropriate the proper resources not only to come to innovative actions, but sustain them as well.[40]

What does it mean if we translate these ideas to the phenomenon at hand? Are we dealing with the emergence of a strategic action field as Fligstein and McAdam call it? If so, what does it mean to call that field a ritual field? Based on the points discussed above, if we are in fact dealing with an emerging, or even an emerged, ritual field, we can expect the following criteria to be of relevance. The first of these criteria is actually more of a precondition, namely, that an opportunity is created due to periods of contention, or even rupture, in one or more proximate fields. The second criterion is that social actors, which can be collective actors, from these proximate fields start innovating in a social arena that was previously unorganized. The third criterion is that these entrepreneurs start orienting themselves toward each other and have to take each other into account due to goals and interests being shared. The fourth criterion is that these social actors not only come to share these goals and interests, but also start sharing an understanding of a) what is at stake in this social arena, b) what positions the other actors occupy, c) how to make sense of what these others are doing, and d) what rules should be abided by. As a fifth criterion, finally, we can add that an emerging field can only be called a ritual field if the shared goals, interests, and understandings listed under the third and fourth criteria revolve primarily around ritual matters. To clarify this last point, ritual field in this case is shorthand for a strategic action field in which such strategic actions pertain to the organizing of rites. In other words, these are actions aimed at securing the cooperation of others in order to establish jointly a social arena in which rites are given shape. Such a ritual-focus would distinguish this field from other religious fields which revolve around focal points like affiliation to a certain institution, a shared worldview, and/or a particular community. Ritual fields, then, could be defined as arrays of (loosely) linked ritual practices that share a certain purpose, but which are not exclusively affiliated with any particular group, institution, or worldview. In the

35 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 7.
36 Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory," 12.
37 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 3, 19.
38 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 23; Fligstein and McAdam, "Toward a General Theory," 12-13.
39 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 4, 17.
40 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 20-21.

three sections that follow, the criteria for an emerging ritual field as they have been laid out here will be put to the test using entries from each of the three subcategories in the database of collective commemorations detailed in chapter one.

Catholic Commemoration: A Subfield Opens Up

When thinking of rites of collective commemoration in a Catholic setting, All Souls' Day cannot escape notice, if only because it has had an impressive history, spanning a whole millennium, starting with its inception at the monastery of Cluny in the early years of the 11th century.[41] Ritually speaking, All Souls' Day originally revolved around the Office for the Dead, a prayer cycle said for the repose of all souls in purgatory. Additionally, up to three requiem masses were allowed to be said on All Souls' Day.[42] This practice originated in the 15th century among the Dominicans of Valencia, but it was expanded to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies by Pope Benedict XIV in the 18th century and to all priests by Pope Benedict XV in 1915.[43] Besides these official liturgical acts, a wealth of other ritual practices amassed around this occasion throughout the Catholic world, such as burning blessed candles at the graves of the deceased and decorating them with flowers, or having special meals to honor or even help the dead.[44] In the Netherlands, the folk traditions surrounding All Souls' Day are particularly associated with the Catholic south. It evokes images of people cleaning the graves and adorning them with flowers in preparation for the blessing of these graves by the parish priest and of children making multiple visits to the church, each visit, if combined with the proper prayers, earning an indulgence for the soul of one dearly departed.[45]

The so-called religious crisis of the 1960s, however, hit the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands hard and resulted in many changes.[46] Sociologist John Coleman argued that these were not changes of demise, though, but of adaptation. The church in the Netherlands adapted its strategy from a missionary one to a more pastoral one.[47] Or, put in terms of Fligstein and McAdam's theory of fields, the Catholic field in the Netherlands, well defined in the Dutch system of pillarization, experienced a period of instability, which led to experimentation followed by restabilization. Here, it is interesting to note that Coleman adds that this shift towards a more cultural-pastoral strategy also involved an increase in coalition forming with partners stemming from the other pillars.[48] This shift,

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41 Jürgen Bärsch, *Allerseelen : Studien Zu Liturgie Und Brauchtum Eines Totengedenktages in Der Abendländischen Kirche* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2004), 107-09.
42 Bärsch, *Allerseelen*, 53-63.
43 Lucas Brinkhoff, *Liturgisch Woordenboek* (Roermond: J. J. Romen, 1962), 103.
44 Bärsch, *Allerseelen*, 420-76.
45 Wim Cappers, "Allerzielen of Allernaasten," *Terebinth* 22, no. 3 (2008): 36.
46 John A. Coleman, *The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism, 1958-1974* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
47 Coleman, *The Evolution*, 297-98.
48 Coleman, *The Evolution*, 215-22, 98.

of course, also had a clear impact on the liturgy.[49] The Dutch liturgical scholar Gerard Lukken made more or less the same point for Dutch ritual in general, describing how a ritual crisis in the 1960s to the 1980s eventually led to what he called an abundance of ritual from the 1990s onward.[50]

For All Soul's Day rites this shift starts becoming apparent around the 1980s. Data on this period is of course somewhat thin, with internet resources not going that far back and the memories of those being contacted sometimes being somewhat convoluted. A book written by Hein Vrijdag, program maker for the Dutch Catholic television network and a liturgical specialist, provides us with some interesting examples in this regard, however. Providing an overview of local liturgical initiatives he gathered information on in the late 1980s, three of these detail new ways of celebrating the All Souls' Day service. In the first example, from the town of Groesbeek, All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day have been combined into one service.[51] In this service an amount of candles have been placed in the church equal to the number of parish members who died that year and early in the service, before the litany of saints is read, each of these individuals is named and one of the candles is lit while reciting that name. In the second example, from the city of Nijmegen, the bereaved of parish members who died in the past year are invited to attend the All Souls' Day service beforehand as well.[52] Names are recited again, and candles are lit too. In this case, however, these candles are positioned before small wooden crosses in which the name, age, and date of death have been engraved. Each of these crosses has been put up in the church during the wake service preceding the funeral of the individual in question. After the service, those attending receive a memorial card containing the names of those who passed away that year and walk in procession to the nearby graveyard, illuminated by torches lit from the Easter candle. At the cemetery, the pastor speaks a few more words regarding the Christian hope for life after death and ignites a fire in a firepot as a symbol of this hope. Finally, in the example from the town of Oudorp, the names of those who died in the past year are recited as well, and candles are again lit.[53] This time, however, the procession to the cemetery takes place straight after lighting the candles, with the bereaved taking these candles to the cemetery and placing them on the graves of those who died. Although originally this was only done for those who had lost someone in the preceding year, due to popular demand, this last part had recently been opened up to those who had lost someone earlier as well, although these names were not recited.

What is evident from these examples is that the rites obviously remained strongly commemorative in nature, but that their more exclusive Catholic dimension, i.e., tending to the souls in purgatory, was seemingly pushed to the background, bringing the bereaved to the foreground instead. Doing so involves

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49 Coleman, *The Evolution*, 106-07, 33-37, 220-21.

50 Gerard Lukken, *Rituals in Abundance : Critical Reflections on the Place, Form, and Identity of Christian Ritual in Our Culture* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

51 Hein Vrijdag, *Zonder Beelden Sprak Hij Niet Tot Hen : Nieuwe Symbolen En Riten in De Liturgie* (Hilversum: Gooi en Sticht, 1989), 172-73.

52 Vrijdag, *Zonder Beelden*, 174-76.

53 Vrijdag, *Zonder Beelden*, 176-77.

the reciting of the names, the lighting of candles for each name, handing out memorial cards or small memorial crosses, and possibly visiting the cemetery. When looking at the database (Appendix 1), we see another type of service being added to this repertoire in some parishes from the 1990s onward, particularly in the Western part of the Netherlands.[54] These services are not tied to All Souls' Day but are organized by special volunteer groups, often called Raphael-groups.[55] These volunteer groups organize monthly weeknight prayer services which are thematically geared fully to commemoration and dealing with grief. Afterwards coffee or tea is drunk together and those attending are encouraged to tell their own stories of loss. At around the same time we see more and more parishes starting to offer the opportunity to burn tea lights during the All Souls' Day service, in order to commemorate those who died longer ago than the previous year. In the town of Wehl they even created a complete additional service for this very purpose.[56] Sometime later, in the early 2000s, we also start to see more and more projects surrounding the churchyard come up. New priests start to do individual grave blessings rather than the original general ones,[57] and the volunteers involved with cemetery maintenance endeavor to illuminate churchyards with both torches and electric lights, so as to invite the churchgoers to pay the churchyard a visit after the All Souls' Day service.[58]

Finally, roughly from the second half of the 2000s onwards, we also see new projects take form that do not correspond to a church service at all. "All Souls' Day in the Light", of which we saw the Oudewater edition in the introduction, is a good example of this latest development.[59] In Oudewater this event is organized by the parish's wake workgroup in conjunction with the liturgist of the diocese of Rotterdam who originally came up with the idea for this project, as well as a local lighting company, the local scouts, and several other volunteers from within the workgroup's network. Another big All Souls' Day project, which was already referred to in chapter one as well, is called "*Nacht der Zielen*" or "Night of the Souls" and takes place at various locations in the southern province of Limburg.[60] These open meetings bring together music, poetry, stories, dance, and art for commemorative purposes. Here, too, a whole host of different organizations is involved, with a Catholic youth church, a monastery, a chapel, and a local organization for church and society together forming a joint initiative.

Applying the criteria distilled from the works of Fligstein and McAdam to the developments described here regarding Catholic rites of collective commemoration, the following points become clear. As to the first criterion, which revolved around crisis in a proximate field being a precondition for the emergence of a new ritual field, we can see that a subfield dedicated to collective commemoration already

54 See entries C26, C45, C47, C48, and C51 of the database (appendix 1).
55 So named in reference to Raphael's role as a comforting companion on the road in the Deuterocanonical Book of Tobit.
56 C29.
57 See, e.g.. C05, and C59-C60.
58 See C07, C10, C52-53, and C62-63.
59 C03-04, and C81-85.
60 C20-23.

existed for a long time, squarely nested within the larger Catholic field or pillar. Both this larger field and the subfield aimed at commemoration, however, were severely affected by the crisis of the 1960s. In regards to the second criterion, which dealt with entrepreneurs exploring unorganized social space, we can see that in response to the crisis, a shift in the All Souls' Day subfield occurred, which led to it opening up more. Subsequently, we start seeing more and more initiatives for new rites emerge, given shape by new types of actors who are gradually moving away from their original field and starting to offer their rites to a wider audience. These initiatives can be seen as strategic action fields in themselves, in which various actors are working together in order to achieve certain (local) goals. As to the third criterion, which concerned having to take other actors in the field into account, we saw a good example of this with the project in Oudewater being inspired on the non-ecclesial *Allerzielen Alom* project. We also saw how innovative moves often involved increasing degrees of cooperation, not only at the local level but also in larger collaborative projects. Regarding the fourth criterion, however, which dealt with shared understandings, not much can be said yet on the basis of just the Catholic data. This also inhibits discussion of the fifth criterion, which dealt with whether such shared understandings were of a ritual nature or not. Both criteria will be returned to below when data from Protestant and non-ecclesial commemorations has been considered as well.

Protestant Commemoration: A Subfield Emerges

Historically speaking, All Souls' Day is not celebrated in the Dutch Protestant churches. In the eyes of the first reformers it was tied up with exactly those things they protested against most, like purgatory, indulgences, and the idea that the living could help the dead. Calvin, in particular, refuted the possibility that prayer could help the dead, condemning the practice as idolatrous and rejecting all the associated ceremonialism.[61] The first forays into Protestant attention for collective commemoration stem from the early 19th century, with the Dutch synod of the Reformed Church deciding in 1817 that New Year's Eve would be well suited for a solemn hour of contemplation.[62] The year before that, Frederick William III of Prussia similarly passed a decree stating that all Lutheran churches in the Prussian region would commemorate the dead on the last Sunday of the liturgical year, i.e., the Sunday before Advent, also known as Sunday of the Dead or Eternity Sunday.[63] Yet, despite such early developments, little to no ritual attention was initially given to these commemorations in the Netherlands. When contacted, those involved with contemporary collective commemorations in a Protestant setting indicated that in the past the names of those who had died during the previous year would

61 Glenn Lucke, Richard B. Gilbert, and Ronald K. Barrett, "Protestant Approaches to Death: Overcoming Death's Sting," in *Death and Religion in a Changing World* (Armonk: ME Sharpe, 2006), 130.

62 *Handelingen Van De Algemeene Christelijke Synode Der Hervormde Kerk in Het Koningrijk Der Nederlanden in Den Jare 1817*, (The Hague: n.p., 1822).

63 Jürgen Bärsch, "Totensonntag," in *Lexikon Für Theologie Und Kirche*, ed. Michael Buchberger and Walter Kasper (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 130-31.

generally only be listed in the last church periodical of the year or they would be recited in a service on New Year's Eve with the congregation possibly standing up, singing a psalm, or just keeping a moment of silence. Candles were not burned and graveyards were not visited as such acts were deemed too Catholic.

Just like the Catholic Church, however, the Protestant pillar in the Netherlands was also affected by the religious crisis of the 1960s.[64] As we saw above, the result was a steep increase in ecumenical interaction, in particular where it came to liturgical innovation.[65] Keeping such increased interaction in mind, it comes as no surprise that if we take a look at our database, we see that in the early 1990s many Dutch Protestant congregations have started, or are starting to, light candles during their commemorative services as well.[66] Today, a few of the more conservative congregations within the Protestant Church in the Netherlands still keep to the old practice,[67] or have only recently switched,[68] but in most congregations lighting candles, possibly accompanied by tea lights to commemorate those whose names were not recited, is now standard practice. Another major innovation, of which its ties with the Catholic tradition will receive more detailed attention in chapter two, is the introduction of liturgical flower pieces around the middle of the 1990s.[69] Serving to function as a ritual centerpiece during a variety of important services, amongst which the commemorative services dealt with here, these symbolical flower arrangements are created by groups of small local volunteers. From the early 2000s onwards we are also seeing some congregations starting to move to the cemetery as well, although this is by no means a general trend.[70] About half a decade later another development takes place which does find a more widespread distribution, namely, the introduction of a variety of more permanent material objects in the commemorative service.[71] In particular, this concerns the use of white stones and commemorative crosses, both of which generally acquire a more permanent place in the church building in the form of a memorial corner. Interestingly, further inquiry in all these cases shows that not only the ministers are involved in these new developments, although they often are, but they also involve liturgical committees, art groups, children's groups, and interior design workgroups as well.

Finally, in most recent years, a select few congregations have also started more outward oriented projects. In Reeuwijk, a requiem concert with a ritual interlude is held. In Amsterdam there is an open church night where people can just walk in to write something in a memory book, burn a candle, look at a photo exhibition, listen to some poetry or music, or just have a drink together with other bereaved.[72]

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64 Coleman, *The Evolution*, 300.
65 Coleman, *The Evolution*, 133-37, 220-21.
66 See P15-16, P25-26, P36, P38-39, P50, etc.
67 E.g., P35, P42, and P55-57.
68 P51.
69 See P60, P37, P41, P44, P46, P52, etc.
70 See P01, P03, P04, and P68.
71 E.g., P27, P48-49, P59, P62, and P65-67.
72 Respectively P74, and P76.

As might be expected, these projects again rely on collaboration with artists, musicians, and choirs.

Relating the general developments set out here to Fligstein and McAdam's theory of fields, some observations can again be made. With regards to the first criterion, which dealt with crisis being a precondition to the emergence of new fields, we saw that although the wider Protestant field, or Protestant pillar as it was commonly called in the Netherlands, was of course affected by the religious crisis of the 1960s just as the Catholic pillar was, this did not affect Protestant rites of collective commemoration in the same manner as All Souls' Day was affected, simply because these hardly existed. Put differently, before this crisis, no clearly pronounced subfield dealing with collective commemoration existed within the Protestant pillar, mainly due to theological objections. When we look at the second criterion, however, we see that after this crisis such a subfield did start to emerge within a context of increased interaction between Catholics and Protestants. The fact that the helping of souls became less pronounced within All Souls' Day rites will have played a part here as well, given that it "liberated" the idea of ritually commemorating the dead from this theological concept objected to by Protestants. When this Protestant subfield started to emerge, it is important to note that here, too, new actors are involved in these developments, with both individuals and small local groups being able to step out of the comfort zone of their larger Protestant field to develop new ways of commemorating the dead. As to the third criterion, becoming oriented towards other actors in the field, we can clearly see here that this is taking place in regards to developments within the Catholic subfield. The fact that the requiem concert in Reeuwijk is partially inspired by the non-ecclesial "All Souls' Day All Around" project, just as the rites in Oudewater were, indicates that the same might be true for actors working in a non-ecclesial setting. This, in regards to the fourth criterion, also implies that a certain degree of shared understanding must be involved, with people apparently considering the same things to be at stake, i.e., the dead having to be commemorated collectively, being aware of the positions of other actors, and also able to make sense somehow of those actors' actions. No indication of a shared understanding of rules has so far surfaced yet, though. What is clear, however, is that whatever is shared in these cases very much revolves around ritual concerns, thereby clearly meeting the requirements of the fifth criterion.

Non-ecclesial Commemoration: Subfields Coalesce

The first thing that catches the eye when looking at the non-ecclesial section of the database is that there are no entries from before 1990. This, of course, should not be taken to imply that no commemorations took place outside Protestant or Catholic settings before that time. It only means that these were not truly collective in the way it was defined in chapter one, but instead concerned the collective commemoration of only a particular group of deceased, such as with the yearly commemoration of the war dead on May fifth. Of the first collective

commemoration we do see, the one at the Antonius IJsselmonde nursing home in Rotterdam is of particular note.[73] There, since 1990, relatives of those who have died at the nursing home are invited several times a year to attend special meetings to commemorate their recently deceased loved ones. From here, this type of commemorative meeting spread over the country, particularly after they received attention on national television in 1998.[74] From this time onward we can see similar meetings taking place in homes for the elderly,[75] hospices, and even hospitals.[76] In this last case, however, the form is more of an open house where throughout the day candles can be lit in the meditation room for example. Since the early 2000s, meetings of a similar kind are also organized by the large funeral insurance companies in their own funeral homes,[77] and, more recently, by smaller funeral companies as well.[78] Further inquiry into these meetings shows that their form has remained relatively stable throughout this period and, although not religiously affiliated in content, its form is familiar as it revolves around reciting the names of the deceased, accompanied by the lighting of a candle, or the placing of a rose or white stone. To this, some poetry, (live) music, a story or spoken contemplation, and a closing statement are generally added. The inclusion of these various elements means that in most cases not only employees of this particular healthcare institution or funeral home are involved in organizing these meetings, but that collaborations are also struck with musicians, choirs, and even pastors.

Another initiative that can be traced back to the early 1990s is memorial concerts. The first of these, and still by far the largest, is organized yearly on the grounds of the Westerveld Cemetery and Crematorium since 1994.[79] It is called Concerto in Memoriam and attracts thousands of visitors every June. The setup has not changed since its inception and consists of live classical music, The Last Post, a poem, and a Word of Consolation. In the last decade, several similar, yet significantly smaller, yearly concerts have entered the scene.[80] Most of these are organized by committees founded especially for this purpose or by funeral homes. In the case of the latter they are often combined with a commemorative meeting.

Where most of these meetings and concerts are indoor events, Concerto in Memoriam itself being a notable exception, the early 2000s saw the introduction of a new type of ritual event taking place not only outside, but in cemeteries after dark. The *Lichtjesnacht* or "Night of Lights", first organized on Christmas' Eve 2002 at the Zorgvlied cemetery in Amsterdam, is an early example in this category.[81] From 2005 onwards, this type of ritual event became increasingly popular, as the numerous entries in the database from this point onward evince.

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73 N109.
74 Personal communication with Marinus van den Berg, organizer of these meetings.
75 E.g., N105, N111, and N121.
76 See N102-104, N106, and N108.
77 E.g., N042, N068, N071, N091, and N137. In the Netherlands the large funeral insurance companies possess their own funeral homes throughout the country.
78 E.g., N037, N041, N052, and N077-78.
79 N034.
80 E.g., N059, N065-066, N082-083, and N093-096.
81 N067.

Some of these are relatively simple events organized by the funeral insurance companies at many of their funeral homes, sometimes in collaboration with a local parish, whereas others are much more complex endeavors. Of important note here is the *Allerzielen Alom* or "All Souls' Day All Around" celebration that was mentioned several times before and which was first organized in 2005 at De Nieuwe Ooster cemetery and crematorium in Amsterdam.[82] This celebration involved a wide range of artists, which resulted in an extensive lighting plan, the creation of temporary art monuments, and the development of small artistic rituals. In addition, this project was picked up by would-be organizers of different backgrounds throughout the country.[83] This was in no small part due to Ida van der Lee, the artist behind this initiative, who argued that artists needed to start filling the commemorative vacuum left behind by what she saw as churches receding from public life.[84] In order to spread her initiative, she published booklets, organized workshops, and kept innovating new ritual forms.[85] Although van der Lee set up rules regarding when spin-offs of her project were allowed to use the *Allerzielen Alom* name, this generally led more to new names being made up locally than to these rules being followed. In all cases, however, such spin-offs, like the original project, concern joint-initiatives organized by workgroups which bring together artists, municipalities, local funeral companies, ritual guides, grief counselors, local branches of funeral insurance companies, and even local churches.[86]

Reviewing the developments set out above with Fligstein and McAdam's work on emerging fields in mind, the first observation that needs to be made is that we see actors being involved from a variety of different fields. In particular, this concerns the funeral branch, the health care sector, and artist collectives. Collective commemoration was not originally the core business of any of these fields, however. This was slowly changed after the religious crisis of the 1960s not only opened up the idea of collective commemoration to Protestants, but to these fields as well, showing the first criterion to be applicable again. The same goes for the second criterion, as entrepreneurs within these various non-ecclesial fields started moving outside the original borders of their respective fields, or at the very least started working in its fringes. As to the third criterion, which dealt with taking each other into account, it is clear from the increased number of collaborative projects that this took place both amongst the various non-ecclesial subfields and between these subfields and the ecclesial ones. As we saw before, in relation to the fourth criterion, this also indicates a certain degree of shared

82 N001.

83 See N002-N015, N017-024, N026-030, etc.

84 "Het Concept," http://allerzielenalom.nl/en/wat/gedachtegoed/.

85 Ida van der Lee, *Allerzielen Alom : Kunst tot Herdenken* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2008); Ida van der Lee, *De muze van het herdenken : Vijf jaar Allerzielen Alom* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2010).

86 There are also a few non-ecclesial collective commemorations that do not completely adhere to the categorizations made here. This concerns a couple of projects in the same vein as Allerzielen Alom, but taking place in a church, a park, or on a village square, as well as such diverse initiatives as a Mexican cultural group putting up a commemorative altar in a ethnographic museum, an artist collective hosting a commemorative open stage night and a medieval reenactment group doing a yearly All Souls' Day procession through their town, visiting each of the houses where people died that year.

understanding having formed in regards to what is at stake, what positions other actors occupy, and how to make sense of their projects. Again, though, shared rules are seemingly not an important component of the phenomenon studied here. Where the fifth criterion is concerned, it is clear that what ties these people together is very much a shared ritual interest.

A Ritual Field

Having now looked at the non-ecclesial commemorations as well as at the Catholic and Protestant ones, it finally becomes possible to address fully the claim initially made, namely, that we are dealing here with an emerging ritual field. Again, the criteria laid out above serve as guidelines for doing so. The first of these criteria concerned a precondition, namely, that an opportunity for the emergence of a new field is created due to periods of contention, or even rupture, in one or more proximate fields. The religious crisis of the 1960s seems to have provided such an opportunity in this case, with the religious fields, or pillars, shifting their strategies in a way that opened up collective commemoration to a wider range of social actors. This, in line with the second criterion, created an arena for innovation, which started to be explored by actors from these proximate religious fields as well as by entrepreneurs from various non-ecclesial fields, which also bordered this not yet organized social space.

As to the third criterion, actors becoming more oriented towards each other, looking a bit closer at the "All Souls' Day in the Light" commemoration in Oudewater provides a very good example of how this is currently taking place. First of all, as was mentioned, this rite is part of a larger project within the Rotterdam diocese and was itself based on the non-ecclesial *Allerzielen Alom* project. In an interview, one of the organizers in Oudewater explained that he had recently visited a memorial concert organized by a Protestant church in the nearby town of Reeuwijk, where names of the deceased could be written on white stones. As we saw above, these stones are predominantly found in Protestant commemorations, yet the organizer was interested in trying to work this element into the project of his parish as well. The Protestant minister who hosted this concert, meanwhile, had expressed interest in learning more about the commemoration in Oudewater, as he had also heard of the non-ecclesial *Allerzielen Alom* project and was thinking of organizing something similar in his town as well. The crucial question that arises when discussing examples of interaction like these, however, is whether all the local fields in which these commemorations are being given shape are in fact still oriented more toward the original field they hailed from or if they are actually coalescing into a single ritual field of collective commemoration? Maybe here it is good to point out that Fligstein and McAdam themselves stressed that a field can be embedded in more than one overarching field.[87] Or, to describe it with a metaphor, what we are seeing here looks much like circles of friends. People can be part of more than one such circle, and, in fact, most people are. Imagine one circle of friends revolves around playing board games. In the past, all members of

87 Fligstein and McAdam, *A Theory of Fields*, 3.

this circle were also part of a local cultural center where their gaming sessions took place. There were a few other people in town who were interested in board games as well, but they mostly only watched others play. When the opening hours of the cultural center changed, however, people started hosting gaming sessions at school or at the lodge of the local boy scouts as well. As a result, more and more people in town started to get involved with playing these games. After a while, these people previously not members of the cultural center also started associating more and more with a much wider circle of gaming friends. For some of them this meant that they associated less with their former circle of friends at school or amongst the boy scouts, while others just saw the two as complementary, while yet others only considered the people they know through playing games as acquaintances. It seems we are catching the field emerging here right in the middle of a similar process. Some congregations, funeral homes, or hospices will still feel much more embedded within their original strategic action field, whereas others have ventured much farther and now identify more and more with whatever new ritual field is emerging around them.

Getting back to the criteria laid out above, the fourth one dictated that if we were to speak of an emerging field, there should also be shared understanding regarding a) what is at stake in this social arena, b) what positions the other actors occupy, c) how to make sense of what these others are doing, and d) what rules should be abided by. Although the extent to which such understandings are shared is difficult to judge from studying the database alone, and will thus receive more attention in the chapters to come, it should by evident by now, however, that what is at stake is collective commemoration of the dead in general. Awareness of others interested in creating rites for that purpose is slowly growing, although it is far from completely shared as of yet. With such a clear goal being shared, though, the framework with which the actions of these others are understood seems to be much more widespread. Rules, finally, hardly seem to matter and where they do exist, such as for when an *Allerzielen Alom* spin-off project is allowed to bear that name, they are hardly abided by.

With ritual clearly serving as the focal point in whatever understandings are shared, it is clear in regards to the fifth criterion that we are indeed dealing with the emergence of an array of loosely linked ritual practices that share a certain purpose, but which are not exclusively affiliated with any particular group, institution, or worldview. In other words, we are dealing with with an emerging ritual field.

Concluding Remarks

At the start of this chapter, it was asked how we should conceptualize the phenomenon that was delineated in chapter one. Here the claim was put forward that we are dealing with a ritual field. In order to assess this claim, use was made of Fligstein and McAdam's theory of fields, from which a set of five criteria was distilled. In the three sections that followed, the phenomenon at hand slowly unfolded itself, showing how actors from several distinct fields started working on

increasingly similar ritual projects dealing with collective commemoration. The overarching field that is currently emerging as a consequence of all these ritual initiatives has not fully emerged as of yet, and maybe never will. As we will see in the chapters to come, fluidity and instability are increasingly deemed defining characteristics of our current times. As such, the phenomenon at hand, being an emerging ritual field, is a perfect case study for investigating several important issues regarding the role of religion and ritual in late modernity.

The chapters that follow will attempt to address these issues. Chapter three will ask what role traditions have played in the general developments that have been sketched here and in doing so will take a closer look at some of the ritual practices that tie the field together. Chapter four will delve more deeply into six particular case studies from within the field, asking what challenges and opportunities those involved with the reproduction of this emerging field are confronted with. Chapter five will likewise be based on the fieldwork conducted on these six case studies and reflects critically upon a popular paradigm within ritual studies, i.e., that of ritual design. Finally, in the final considerations, the topic of ritual dynamics, which runs as a red thread throughout these various chapters, will be picked upon again to try and answer a more fundamental question: If all of the different levels at which ritual dynamics are at play within the ritual field of collective commemoration are taken into regard, what does this tell us about the position of ritual in our late modern world?

Chapter 3

Innovating from Traditions

With modernity turning fluid, as sociologist Zygmunt Bauman put it, scholars of religion have increasingly turned their eyes towards the advent of new religious movements, the growing interest in spirituality, and to those who believe but do not belong.[88] Just like Bauman regarded modernity as entering a new phase, so did scholars of religion begin to identify new ways of being religious. The emerging ritual field of collective commemoration that was identified in the previous chapter promises to be a similarly worthwhile case study for studying religious change in liquid modernity. It showcases a major building block of religion, i.e., rituals, as somehow thriving outside the institutions and worldviews they were once embedded in. It does so, however, without having to lose sight of the interconnectedness that is such an important characteristic of rituals.

What makes the emergence of a new ritual field of collective commemoration particularly interesting is that it begs the question of how the innovative moves that pertain to this emergence relate to the concept of tradition.[89] Or, formulated differently, what role do traditions play in the emergence of a new ritual field like this? Here the claim will be put forward that the particular way traditions are employed for the ritual creativity that ultimately led to the emergence of this ritual field is best described as "innovating from traditions". This claim will be substantiated below by first taking a closer look at what exactly is meant by "innovating from traditions" and how it relates to Hobsbawm and Ranger's idea of "invention of tradition". In the three sections that follow, the database described in chapter one is again consulted. Here the subdivision of the database makes it possible to approach the issue at hand from three angles: the Catholic subcategory provides a setting with a prior tradition of collective commemoration, the Protestant one a setting without such a prior tradition, and the non-ecclesial subcategory concerns a setting where what was missing was not only a prior tradition but also a community to carry it. The concluding remarks, finally, discuss the wider implications of the claim made here, particularly where they pertain to our understanding of the role of traditions in contemporary religion.

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88 Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Malden: Blackwell Pub., 2000), 2.

89 For clarity's sake, "tradition" is used here to denote the second order generic concept, whereas "a tradition" (and its plural: "traditions") refers to one of the particular cultural phenomena that is commonly described with, or studied through, this concept.

Innovating from Traditions: Between Invention and Bricolage

There was a time when the concepts of tradition and ritual both conjured up images of repetition, stasis, and timelessness. However, for the concept of ritual, authors like Victor Turner[90] and Ronald Grimes[91] fundamentally altered this image by speaking of ritual in terms of transformation and meaningful change. They also drew attention to the constructed nature of ritual. Grimes, for example, defined the act of ritualizing as "deliberately cultivating or inventing rites."[92] Interestingly, such scholarly views did not merely reflect a change in the academic understanding of ritual but corresponded to a fundamental change in the actual practice of it. Catherine Bell refers to this change when she describes how ritual is increasingly presented "as a central dynamic in human affairs."[93] Bell found new ritualizations to be gaining authority more and more from their being ritual, i.e., from belonging to a seemingly fundamental category of human practice, rather than from being part of specific traditions.[94] Chapter five will delve much deeper into this paradigm shift within both the practice and study of ritual, but what is important to note here is that what Bell described as ritualizing "creatively and even idiosyncratically" would seem fundamental to the emergence of new ritual fields, which by definition transcend traditional boundaries.[95] From this perspective, the sort of creative ritualizing that leads to the emergence of a new ritual field would seem to be moving away from traditions all together.[96] The thesis would then be that with the importance of institutions fading away in liquid modernity, so is the role of their traditions transcended in the ritualizing processes that led to the emergence of new ritual fields.

Yet, another perspective is possible as well. In 1983, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger introduced the idea of "the invention of tradition".[97] The various contributions to their volume convincingly showed that many venerable traditions were, in fact, modern inventions. In the volume's introduction, Hobsbawm identified ritualization as a central process in this inventing.[98] The emergence of a new ritual field of collective commemorations sounds very much like it could be the result of such processes of invention as well. This premise is further

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90 Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969); Victor W. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors; Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

91 Ronald L. Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone : Re-Inventing Rites of Passage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982).

92 Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone*, 26.

93 Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual : Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 264.

94 Bell, *Ritual*, 262-64.

95 Bell, *Ritual*, 264.

96 More or less the same claim is made by the scholars working at the "Ritual Dynamics" research center of the Heidelberg University (Bergunder, Gengnagel, Heidle, Michaels, Schneidmüller, and Simon 2010: VI).

97 Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

98 Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction : Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

strengthened by Hobsbawm's suggestion[99] that the invention of new traditions is most likely to occur during times of rapid societal transformation, when the old traditions no longer suffice, or as Fligstein and McAdam would put it, when proximate fields are in turmoil. From this angle the thesis would be that with the importance of institutions fading away in liquid modernity, ritual fields are the outcomes of ritualizing processes aimed at inventing new traditions to supplant the ones pertaining to those institutions. So what to make of the emerging ritual field of collective commemoration? Is it the effect of ritualizing moving away from traditions all together? Or, is it the result of ritualizing working towards the invention of new traditions?

Much has been written about the invention of tradition, and the idea clearly struck a chord in academia when it was introduced by Hobsbawm and Ranger. Although it took some time, scholars of religion eventually also took note of this concept and its uses. The question, though, is whether the concept has not become too successful? That is to say, is the concept being applied more broadly than initially intended? Are all situations in which tradition plays a part in religious or ritual renewal really instances of invention of tradition? Hobsbawm himself defined invented traditions as sets of symbolic practices that seek to inculcate specific values and types of behavior by factitiously implying continuity with a suitable past.[100] Although ancient materials, borrowed from the "well-supplied warehouses" of past traditions, might be used for this purpose, the goals were "to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes."[101] As such, critical observations that the use of the term invention implies that these traditions are nothing more than cynical instruments of manipulation[102] and might easily draw one into debates of authenticity[103] are correct, but somewhat beside the point. These are not unintended consequences of the term invention; rather, they are precisely what Hobsbawm, coming from a Marxist background, was trying to get across. Hobsbawm was not talking about all renewal pertaining to traditions. In fact, he warned that the invention of tradition was not to be confused with "the adaptability of genuine traditions."[104] Obvious issues with the problematically dichotomic use of the term "genuine" aside,[105] what Hobsbawm is saying is that tradition figures into innovation in more ways than one. There are, in other words, several ways in which use can be made of the well-supplied warehouses referred to above. This is where "innovating from traditions" comes in.

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99 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 4-5.

100 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 1-2.

101 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 6.

102 Gregory Price Grieve and Richard Weiss, "Illuminating the Half-Life of Tradition: Legitimation, Agency, and Counter-Hegemonies," in *Historicizing "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, ed. Steven Engler and Gregory Price Grieve (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 6-7.

103 Gregory B. Johnson, "Authenticity, Invention, Articulation: Theorizing Contemporary Hawaiian Traditions from the Outside," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 20, no. 3 (2008): 252.

104 Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 8.

105 Steven Engler, "Afterward: Tradition's Legacy," in *Historicizing "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, ed. Steven Engler and Gregory Price Grieve (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 362-65.

What is proposed here is that rather than depict ritualizing as resulting in the invention of traditions or, conversely, as moving away from traditions, it might make more sense to see ritualizing as fundamentally being a form of innovating *from* traditions. Such an approach would provide a sort of middle ground between the two extremes sketched in the introduction, between ritualizing being the creation of an idiosyncratic bricolage and it leading to the construction of new instruments of manipulation. In fact, when approaching ritualizing as a process of innovation on the basis of materials taken from Hobsbawm's well-supplied warehouses, these two extremes turn out to be two of various possible approaches to such a process. Other ways of taking elements from traditions for purposes of innovation are possible as well. The adaptability Hobsbawm referred to, for example, is a low-key form of innovation where specific elements taken from one's own traditions are used to adapt to novel situations.

In the next three sections another look will be had at the developments in Catholic, Protestant, and non-ecclesial rites of collective commemoration as they can be gleaned from the database. This time, particular attention will be paid to whether tradition played a part in those processes, that is to say, whether these are, in fact, cases of innovating on the basis of elements taken from traditions. If so, special attention will be given to what traditions are made use of in each of these three settings and for what purposes.

Catholic Commemoration: Innovating with Prior Traditions

In chapter two, we saw a range of ritual practices, both past and present, that are typically associated with Catholic All Souls' Day. Although, in actuality, many of them were evidently quite recent inventions, such ecclesial rites are not generally associated with innovation. This disputable idea that churchly ritual is somehow essentially less dynamic can be found especially in literature on ritual creativity. Ronald Grimes, the founder of the field of ritual studies, provides us with a good example of this position when he writes that, in general, "[r]eimagining ritual can be threatening to religious institutions, since, conventionally understood, imagination is about the made up, whereas religion is supposed to be about the given."[106] The question now arises whether the clear changes we did see occurring for contemporary collective commemorations organized in a Catholic setting mean that this is no longer the case? Are rituals in a Catholic setting today no longer about the given, i.e., no longer about tradition?

In chapter two a range of new ritual initiatives were discussed on the basis of the Catholic rites of collective commemoration found in our database. The first of these was a new kind of All Souls' Day church service in which the names of those who passed away in the previous year are recited and candles are burned for them. This service is new, as we saw, in that it focuses much less on the saving of souls in purgatory and much more on the pastoral dimension of commemorating the dead as a community. To some extent, the ritual acts themselves are new as well or at least the way they are combined within this particular type of service

106 Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone*, 4.

is new. If one looks more closely, none of the components themselves is actually new. The burning of candles, as we saw, has a long history as an All Souls' Day folk tradition, particularly on the graves. As such, the later addition of offering an opportunity to come forward and burn tea lights, as has become common in some churches to also commemorate those who died longer ago or elsewhere, only makes these roots more evident. Likewise, the reciting of names has a clear antecedent in the practice of prayer intentions and masses being said in the name of a particular person. In addition, it has to be noted that in most cases the service itself is a regular mass and, apart from the section devoted to the commemorating of the bereaved, generally follows the regular guidelines for a Catholic service.

Starting around the year 2000 we also saw several local attempts being made to include the cemetery in the practices of All Souls' Day again. In Rosmalen, for example, they started organizing an All Souls' Day service at the cemetery around this time.[107] Here, the local priest says there is indeed a revival of All Souls' Day going on, with the services around it, both in the cemetery and in the church, being very well attended by people wanting to help each other through their grief and loneliness. For him, the idea to include the cemetery was based on his desire to actually involve the places where the people buried their dearly departed.[108] Similarly, in Ankeveen in 2009, the graves were being blessed for the first time.[109] Like many other Catholic parishes located above the rivers marking the traditional border between the Catholic and Protestant parts of the Netherlands, no such practices had existed previously, yet here, too, the priest felt a desire to introduce such a custom. Interestingly, he also indicated that the proximity to the actual dead was his primary motivation for doing so, referring to the increase of road side shrines in the Netherlands as evidence of the importance of that proximity.[110] Despite being new introductions in these towns, and being introduced for very modern reasons, the actual practices themselves clearly have traditional origins. In Ankeveen, for example, the blessing might have been of individual graves rather than the whole cemetery, but it still included such common features as holy water, incense, and fixed prayer formulas.

Even for the large collaborative projects described in chapter two, such as "All Souls' Day in the Light" and "Night of the Souls", we can clearly see the traditional Catholic roots of new ritual initiatives. For "All Souls' Day in the Light" we will see many examples of this in the two chapters to follow where the Oudewater instance of this project is discussed in some detail. But even for the "Night of the Souls" project, where poetry, music, and dance is given center stage, the importance of tradition is made very clear.[111] The mission statement on the

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107 See, for example, entry C24 of the database (appendix 1).

108 Based on an interview given to Kruispunt Radio in 2005: "Allerheiligen En Allerzielen," RKK Kruispunt Radio, http://www.katholieknederland.nl/kruispuntradio/archief/2005/detail_objectID606144.html.

109 See entry C08.

110 Based on an interview with Katholiek Nederland Radio in 2009: "Allerzielen," RKK Katholiek Nederland Radio, http://www.katholieknederland.nl/katholieknederland_radio/detail_objectID696547.html.

111 See entry C20-23.

website, for example, starts with a statement that life in the southern province of Limburg is still permeated with Catholic traditions, such as All Souls' Day. They then ask the question whether it would be possible to give that tradition of commemorating the dead a new, more contemporary form.[112]

Although collective commemorations like the "Night of the Souls" are not found in most parishes, they are highly illustrative of the direction innovating from traditions is taking in Catholic settings. What is especially clear from the newer projects is that innovation is still rooted in tradition, even in the more extreme cases where new forms are chosen to give shape to All Souls' Day. However, it is also evident that ritualizing takes place in an arena larger than just the Catholic setting. We saw in chapter two how All Souls' Day practices were opening up to a wider public. We also saw that sometimes being aware of practices outside the Catholic setting also leads to those involved looking at their own tradition through new eyes. As such, for new innovations ample use seems to have been made of elements from prior Catholic traditions as well. By now it will be clear that Catholic rites of collective commemoration are clearly neither static nor have they entirely done away with tradition. Instead, they make use of their own traditional templates, and increasingly those of others, to innovate in such a way that their rites meet the demands of our current times.

Protestant Commemoration: Innovating without Prior Traditions

With there being no prior ritual tradition of collectively commemorating the dead in Protestant circles, we are presented with some interesting questions regarding the emergence of the rites described in chapter two. Were elements from non-Protestant traditions used in the ritualizing that took place here? If so, which ones and how were they picked up? Analysis of the Protestant entries in the database might help us answer these questions.

In the previous chapter, we saw how the lighting of candles and reciting of names have become commonplace in Protestant churches since around the beginning of the 1990s. Accompanying these developments in the form of the rite, the entries in the database also clearly show a shift in the moment of commemoration, namely, from New Year's Eve to Eternity Sunday, being the last Sunday of the liturgical year, i.e., the Sunday before Advent. When asked, those involved in these rites indicated that as commemoration became more and more ritually marked, New Year's Eve gradually came to be seen as ill-suited for the emotions that accompanied it. The date common in Lutheran tradition, i.e., the last Sunday of the liturgical year, was substituted as an alternative. Although this process started just before the 1990s, it did not come into full fruition until the first decade of the 21st century. Alternatively, there are also some congregations where the first Sunday of November is dedicated to commemoration instead, so as to establish a closer connection to Catholic All Souls' Day.[113] Another moment

112 http://www.nachtderzielen.nl/index.php.
113 E.g. P11-12, P74, and P76.

used for commemoration by a couple of congregations, although more as an additional opportunity rather than as an alternative, is Easter.[114] In these cases, the lighting of the new Easter candle during the evening service or the visit to the cemetery before the morning service is used to take a moment to commemorate loved ones and bring a flower or candle to their graves. Likewise, there are also a few instances of cemetery visits on or around Eternity Sunday.

From what we have seen so far of the developments in Dutch Protestant commemoration we can clearly glean that the Catholic tradition served as an important inspiration for these new ritualizations. The reciting of names, the burning of candles, handing out commemorative crosses, gathering at the cemetery – all of these have clear Catholic correlates. In what way these aspects were picked up is more difficult to say. One reason could be the increased contact with Protestants of a Lutheran bent, amongst whom more of the traditional Roman Catholic liturgy remained.[115] Switching to the Lutheran date is a good indication of possible influence in this regard. Another reason, of course, would be the increased ecumenical interaction between Catholics and Protestants, which was already alluded to in chapter two. In addition to the actual exchanges and collaborations that took place around this time, the open environment in which they took place also simply bred familiarity with the practices on the other side of the fence. A good example of the trajectories through which traditionally Catholic ritual elements might have found a way into Protestant churches is the liturgical flower arrangements that arose in the early 1990s.[116]

In these arrangements, biblical symbolism such as Jacob's ladder or the stone enclosing Jesus' tomb are combined with floral symbolism. Ivy, for example, stands for loyalty and white roses for faith. Much of this floral symbolism has a medieval Catholic background, although it reportedly hardly plays any part in today's All Souls' celebrations. In the 1980s the Dutch Franciscan Movement started with encouraging the use of this symbolism, and although their ideas were never really picked up by Catholic parishes, an exhibition in 1992 saw interest from the Protestant direction grow rapidly. The database shows that nowadays many congregations have some sort of liturgical floral arrangement to accompany the reciting of the names, as well as other special services, like those during Holy Week.[117] In some cases, these are fairly simple and mostly decorative or inspirational, while in other cases, they are more ritually involved. The latter type often incorporate candles and commemorative crosses and are, apparently, how many of these elements found a way into Protestant churches.

It must be stressed that all of these Catholic influences should not to be taken to mean that Catholic traditions have been overtaking the Protestant churches. The fact that the symbolical flower pieces are not actually popular in Catholic churches

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114 E.g., P04 and P68.

115 This increased interaction eventually resulted in the Lutherans becoming part of the merger into the Protestant Church in the Netherlands.

116 The information presented here stems from an interview with Lia van Berkel, one of the initiators of this project and current board member of the Franciscan Movement.

117 See P60, P37, P41, P44, P46, P52, etc.

is a clear indication of this already. But even more than that, when picking up these elements they have clearly been implemented in such a way that they refer to concepts important in Protestant theology, such as the Kingdom to come, rather than to Catholic concepts, such as aiding the dead. This eschatological orientation can also be seen in the apparently wholly Protestant ritual innovation mentioned above of using white stones, which has no Catholic background. Sometimes used separately, sometimes as part of the floral arrangement, each of these stones – except one – carry the name of someone who died during the past year; the final stone serves as a symbol for all the others that are commemorated that day. These stones are used in quite a few congregations, but always as an alternative, and never in addition, to a commemorative cross.[118] Their origin is both biblical and eschatological. Revelation 2:17 reads: "And I will give him a white stone, and on the stone a new name written which no one knows except him who receives it."[119]

The lack of ritual traditions of collective commemoration in Protestant circles has meant that inspiration for their ritualizing had to come from elsewhere. From the entries in the database it became evident that use was primarily made of ritual forms stemming from Catholic traditions. This shows how these traditions served as loose templates for innovation amongst Protestants much like they did for ritualizing Catholics. Interestingly, however, the resulting commemorations show not only similarities but differences as well. The reason for this, of course, is that elements were not used uncritically. In fact, the utmost care seems to have been taken to adapt selected elements to both general Protestant concerns as well as those of the particular community into which they were adopted.

Non-Ecclesial Commemoration: Innovating without Traditions and Community

As mentioned in chapter two, the first collective rites of commemoration outside of the churches emerged in the healthcare sector and spread from there to the funeral branch. The form these meetings take is highly reminiscent of the Catholic and Protestant commemorative church services we saw above, featuring the reciting of names, the burning of candles, and the use of white stones or roses. Even more than ritualizing Protestants, however, would-be organizers of collective commemorations outside the churches were faced with the lack of existing traditions. To make matters even more complicated, they also had no shared (theological) worldview to refer to and, in most cases, not even a shared group to which all those attending belonged. These issues point to the important relation between tradition and community. As Grieve and Weiss put it, a group's traditions "affirm a synchronic bond between actors and extend that bond into the past, into a diachronic community."[120] This raises the question of whether and how traditions were made use of, if neither those ritualizing, nor those

118 See P62-P67.
119 *The Holy Bible : New King James Version*, (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982).
120 Grieve and Weiss, "Illuminating," 3.

attending, belong to a community bonded by such traditions? A look at the major developments, as they can be inferred from the relevant entries in the database, might here, again, be of service.

On the surface, the first non-ecclesial rites of collective commemoration discussed above appear similar to the Protestant ones. Here, too, the Catholic ritual traditions seem to have been looked upon for inspiration for ritualizing and have been adapted to fit new circumstances. Use of the white stones, however, indicates that budding Protestant traditions were also used as inspiration. There is, however, an even more important difference. As already alluded to, the attendants do not belong to a shared community. Instead, they are likely to attend this ritual only once. Additionally, there is also no guarantee of a shared worldview amongst attendants. To address this, entries in the database show that the symbolism employed in these rites, particularly that which is featured in poems, songs, stories, and the spoken contemplation, is either explicitly this-worldly or left much more open to multiple interpretations than what we found for their ecclesial correlates.[121] Here, in particular, use is made of collections of inspirational material aimed specifically at dealing with grief and loss. Interestingly, one of the main authors of such works, Marinus van den Berg, was also involved with the original commemorative meetings in Rotterdam.[122] Having a background as a Catholic theologian, he became interested in palliative care and wrote numerous books on the subject. He particularly emphasizes the need of pulling people out of their isolation of grief.[123]

What we see in these cases is that an outside ritual tradition was not taken from to fit in with a group's existing traditions; rather it was used to transcend whatever traditions, or lack thereof, the various attendants might bring along. With respect to non-ecclesial collective commemorations, we saw another important development come up around 2005, which is also important in this regard. This concerns the commemorative projects in cemeteries, where people are invited to make a ritual walk around a cemetery after sunset.[124] The most noteworthy of these was *Allerzielen Alom* or "All Souls' Day All Around", which was the initiative of Ida van der Lee, a formerly Catholic artist from Amsterdam who, as was mentioned earlier, wanted to fill what she saw as a void left behind by the receding churches. These new commemorative forms are, of course, particularly interesting for our present purposes. Aimed at any visitor, including those who did not bury or cremate someone at the site, they are dubbed ritual art by Van der Lee herself. An example of such ritual art would be asking visitors to write messages to the dead on colored paper and placing these with a tea light in small floatable containers on the cemetery's pond. Another would be dividing an open area into metaphorical chambers of the afterlife and letting visitors choose in which "chamber" their dearly departed would fit by placing a candle besides its poetic description.

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121 See N42, N52, N55, N62, etc.
122 N109.
123 Personal communication with Marinus van den Berg.
124 See N002-N015, N017-024, N026-030, N035, etc.

One thing that is striking when looking at the rites available during one of these ritual walks around the cemetery is that the range of traditions borrowed from appears to be much wider than what we saw for the Protestant rites. It is true that the primary inspiration for these ritual events comes from the Catholic tradition, in particular, the folk custom of visiting the cemeteries to share food, drink, music, and emotions. Within this wider framework, however, room is created for a wide range of ritual forms. The idea of creating various rooms of the afterlife to place candles in clearly has Christian connotations, for example, whereas the floating lights on the cemetery pond was inspired by the Thai Buddhist tradition of Loi Krathong. The entries in the database show that inspiration for these forms came from everything from modern art to nature, from long-forgotten biblical rites to Hindu mantra singing, and from Chinese ancestor worship to indigenous Australian sand painting. It is important, however, to point out that none of the activities offered on these evenings is deemed obligatory. Instead, every visitor can choose whether or not to participate in what she or he comes across during a walk around the cemetery. The resulting ritual experience engages visitors in such a way that despite the absence of traditional communities, visitors reported strong feelings of being connected to others and being part of a greater whole.[125]

In other words, the fact that non-ecclesial collective commemorations are not performed in communities shaped by shared traditions has made for a much wider variety in how traditions are used for ritual innovation. Catholic traditions are still heavily borrowed from, but they are far from the only templates used for innovation. Unlike what we saw in Protestant settings, these templates are taken up and built upon not so much to adapt to the needs of the community, but to *create* a certain sense of (temporary) community.

Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this chapter was to elucidate the role of traditions in the emergence of a ritual field. To achieve this, it was argued that models like the invention of tradition or, conversely, that of bricolages moving away from traditions entirely, were too limited and could in fact be identified as different styles of what can be more fundamentally described as "innovating from traditions". Such innovating, which makes use of elements from prior traditions, was then identified in the Catholic, the Protestant, and the non-ecclesial ritualizations making up the ritual field under investigation. In particular, the borrowing from a wide variety of prior Catholic traditions of collective commemoration became apparent, which could, of course, be expected given Catholicism's long pedigree and wealth of ritual elements.[126] It is important to note, however, that use was made of such elements for different purposes in each of the three settings studied. On the other hand, it is

125 Eric Venbrux, Thomas Quartier, and William R. Arfman, "Het Nieuwe Allerzielen. Buitenkerkelijke Dodenherdenking En Religiositeit," in *De Dood Leeft! Denken over Na De Dood En Ons Leven Vóór De Dood*, ed. Gerlof Bosma and Charlotte van der Leest (Kampen: Kok, 2010), 203-04.

126 Here it has to be noted that the Catholic traditions themselves contain within them traces of numerous commemorative traditions that are even older, including many pagan ones.

also important not to overemphasize the differences. For purposes of comparison, developments were isolated when, in fact, they are intertwined. It is important to realize that when people working at a hospice decide to organize a commemorative meeting, they are unlikely to seek out the traditional sources of rituals. Instead, they will look to what they come across in magazines, television programs, and visits to churches or nursing homes. When traditions are borrowed from, this is done through a variety of nodes in the wider network of ritualizing that makes up the ritual field. Traditions of many backgrounds can be seen to travel through this network, no longer limited as much by "traditional" barriers. It will be clear by now that this is not the same as saying that traditions do not matter. When traditions are used for ritualizing, they cannot but inform the outcome of such innovations. There is, however, also another way traditions can be seen to figure into the emergence of the ritual field studied here: they are aimed for by those involved in organizing these rites. In fact, what we saw when analyzing the entries in our database was Catholics renewing their traditions for a more plural society, Protestants forging new traditions where a perceived lack existed, and people outside the churches developing "a contemporary tradition that is continuously in development," as the website for the Allerzielen Alom offshoot in the town of Velsen describes it.[127] Those ritualizing in the field of collective commemorations apparently not only saw a use in borrowing from prior traditions, but also in forging new traditions for the future. But does this mean we are back to the invention of tradition? Not exactly. To illustrate this, we need to turn back to a claim made at the start of this chapter, namely, that modernity has turned fluid.

When Zygmunt Bauman coined the term "liquid modernity," he was referring to the so-called "melting powers" of modernity. When modernity first emerged, these powers were aimed at dethroning the many solid traditions holding up pre-modern society. The intention, however, was not to do away with traditions entirely, but to replace them with better, but equally solid, new ones.[128] In essence, this is also what Hobsbawm was getting at: the invention of new traditions to replace the old ones. However, modernity has entered a new stage, and its melting powers have turned upon modernity's own solid replacements. This time, though, new solids are not filling the voids; instead, society has turned fluid.[129] The way we saw innovating from traditions take place in the emergence of a ritual field of collective commemoration seems to fit such an analysis perfectly. Rather than invention of tradition, we are dealing with a fluid network of emerging, renewing, and interconnected local traditions which are the result of people innovating by taking elements from various traditions. We can suspect that similarly fluid ways of innovating from traditions can also be found in other emerging ritual fields, as well as in the formation of various new religious movements. Research into these areas should, therefore, do well to take this dynamic relationship between tradition and innovation into account.

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127 "Kernwaarden," Stichting Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht, http://allerzielenvelsen.nl/index.php/kernwaarden.html.

128 Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 3.

129 Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 5-7.

In chapter four, the implications of the liquidity of contemporary society are explored further by taking a closer look at the challenges and opportunities presented by late modernity to those ritualizing in the emerging ritual field of collective commemoration today.

Chapter 4

Liquid Ritualizing

As was mentioned in both chapters two and three, instability can be considered an inherent quality of modernity. Conversely, ritual is traditionally considered to be about stability. This chapter deals with what happens when people concern themselves with ritual, despite the instability of our late modern times. In particular, it argues that a specific set of challenges can be identified with which these people are confronted and that these are overcome by an attitude of embracing the very aspects that characterize contemporary society. This attitude is dubbed "liquid ritualizing", and it is contrasted to earlier forms of "rooted" ritualizing.

Below, a short comparison between the original Dutch way of celebrating All Souls' Day and contemporary forms of collective commemoration will serve to highlight the distinction between rooted and liquid ritualizing, which underpins the rest of the arguments made here. In addition, this section will help identify the various opportunities and challenges faced by those daring to develop and rework ritual practices in late modernity. Next, the core of the chapter will consist of the discussion of six recent case studies. Using data from interviews and participant observation, these cases give an opportunity to see how the people involved dealt with these challenges and opportunities in the two Catholic, two Protestant, and two non-ecclesial settings that were mentioned in chapter one. In the penultimate section, the most pertinent features of liquid ritualizing, as they can be gathered from the six case studies, will be further reflected upon. Finally, in the concluding remarks, the wider implications of the claims made will be used to challenge certain fundamental claims regarding contemporary religiosity.

Liquid Ritualizing: The Challenges of Late Modernity

Probably more than any other, philosopher Marshall Berman emphasized the instability of modernity. Building upon Marx's oft-cited quote that "all that is solid melts into air," Berman described modernity as a paradoxical maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal.[130] To him, living in modernity means being both thrilled by the excitement of constant transformation and growth while equally feeling the dread of imminent destruction of all that we are and have created. Taking these same ideas further, sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, as we saw, argued that these things are particularly true for the most recent stage

130 Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air : The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988), 15.

of modernity, which he dubbed "liquid modernity".[131] According to Bauman, it is true that many traditions were molten down in the early stages of modernity, but most of those were subsequently replaced with modernity's own new, solid traditions. Now, however, these solids are being molten down again, but they are not being replaced this time; instead, the relations underpinning our societies have increasingly turned fluid. In a similar vein, Ulrich Beck talks of a period of reflexive modernization in which modernity is finally confronted with itself, leading to what he calls the risk society.[132] By this he means a society in which the consequences of the social, economic, and individual risks we are constantly forced to choose between can no longer be fully grasped by any of us.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the position of traditions is an interesting issue in this regard. Sociologist Anthony Giddens goes as far as claiming that we now all live in post-traditional societies.[133] At first glance, this clearly seems to be overly dramatic hyperbole, or, at best, a case of an overstated ideal type. Upon closer reading, however, it becomes apparent that "post-traditional" is somewhat of a misnomer in that Giddens does not mean to refer to a society without traditions, but to one in which the status of traditions has been radically changed.[134] Rather than being stable beacons in the maelstrom, traditions, too, are now being questioned routinely. Here, it is argued that although different religious traditions can still be identified, the boundaries between them have become permeable. As a result, religious ideas and practices more or less freely seep, ooze, or even flow from one tradition to another. This is particularly evident where ritual practices are concerned. The transfer of ritual elements, or even of whole rituals, from one tradition to another is not a new phenomenon of course; however, with the blurring of traditional boundaries, those involved with rites today are faced with an overabundance of ritual transference, or "innovating from traditions" as it was dubbed in chapter three.[135] As a result, it becomes increasingly difficult to see the proverbial forest for the trees. In fact, taking the above characterizations of our current times into consideration, one might wonder whether it is still even possible to create a meaningful, cohesive, and lasting ritual whole if all that is solid indeed melts into air. Doesn't ritual presuppose a certain degree of stability? How do people deal with the paradoxical maelstrom of risks and opportunities when "deliberately cultivating or inventing rites," as Ronald Grimes described the activity of ritualizing.[136] And, what form does ritualizing take nowadays, if any? A short comparison between the original way of celebrating All Souls' Day and the

131 Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 3-5.

132 Ulrich Beck, "The Reinvention of Politics : Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization," in *Reflexive Modernization : Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 2-8.

133 Anthony Giddens, "Living in Post-Traditional Society," in *Reflexive Modernization : Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 56.

134 Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash, *Reflexive Modernization : Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), vi.

135 For more on ritual transfer see Robert Langer e.a., Robert Langer et al., "Transfer of Ritual," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 20, no. 1 (2006).

136 Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone*, 26.

ritual field that is currently emerging will help us formulate a hypothesis regarding these matters.

In chapter two we saw that All Souls' Day has had an impressive history. After being initially confined to the Cluniac monasteries, and having to compete with similar commemorations of other monastic orders, All Souls' Day slowly became ever more widely adopted. We see here how, in the course of centuries, a ritual tradition was given shape. Whereas several competing practices vied for dominance in medieval times, eventually, All Souls' Day prevailed. Along the way, other practices gravitated towards it. All Souls' Day was institutionalizing, its fate tied up with that of the Church. In the Netherlands, All Souls' Day rituals were embedded in a Catholic way of life that involved everybody from a very young age. Children would be taught nursery rhymes at school and parents would take them along to clean graves and visit the church where they could help earn indulgences for their dearly departed through reciting particular prayers and burning candles. The end result was the situation described above: one where All Souls' Day was fully embedded within a modern Catholic way of life. Or, as it was put previously, the result was a situation where a subfield of collective commemoration came to be nested within the larger field of Dutch Catholicism.

When thinking about the type of ritualizing involved in the formation of All Souls' Day, "rooted" seems a good word to describe it. After having taken seed in Cluny, this ritual practice branched out over time and into various regions, yet its roots remained firmly within the Catholic tradition. Comparing the way All Souls' Day used to be ritualized with the way ritualizing is taking place in the emerging ritual field described in chapter two, some interesting observations come to the surface. On the one hand, it is clear that many of the old relations supporting the various traditional All Souls' Day practices have fallen away. Someone coming to an *Allerzielen Alom* evening, for example, will not have been raised into the practices associated with it. On the other hand, a certain desire to commemorate the dead ritually does seem to have survived, or has perhaps resurfaced. One *Allerzielen Alom* offshoot in 2010 in Amsterdam, for example, attracted 7000 visitors in one evening! As mentioned above, however, society has changed and this has also affected the Dutch ritual landscape. The old, rooted ways of ritualizing are no longer sufficient now that traditions have become challenged and social relations have increasingly turned fluid. However, the fact that a new ritual field is nonetheless emerging is a clear sign that people have apparently found new ways of ritualizing, despite all these changes. Or, maybe, it would be better to say that this new ritual field has emerged by virtue of these changes rather than despite them. As Berman observed, after all, being modern also entails longing to create and hold on to something, even as everything around you melts away.[137] Perhaps we can expect this new way of ritualizing to be as liquid as late modernity at large is. What we have seen so far of the newly emerging ritual field of collective commemorations seems to support such a hypothesis. Rather than

137 Berman, *All That Is Solid*, 13-14.

being embedded in a single denomination, these practices flow more or less freely between traditions. Rather than ritualizing still being rooted, it has turned liquid.

Calling contemporary ritualizing liquid is not the same as actually understanding what that entails. To come closer to such an understanding, we will have to take a look at the challenges and opportunities inherent in late modernity. As will become evident below, challenges and opportunities are often two sides to the same proverbial coin. As Berman noted, transformation and destruction are both part of modernity's maelstrom, and Beck's risks likewise result from people always seeking new opportunities. Here, a comparison between the traditional way of celebrating All Souls' Day and the newly emerged ritual field of collective commemorations can again provide insight. Three challenges can be recognized in total, with each representing an opportunity as well.

The Challenge of Creating a "Good" Ritual

A first challenge stems from the simple fact that those attending a rite want to be satisfied with the experience provided to them. The ritual needs to have been considered effective, engaging, transformative, and/or meaningful. In short, the ritual has to work. It has to be experienced as a "good" ritual, whatever that might be. But what guidelines can be used to achieve this? In rooted ritualizing, form, meaning, and effect of ritual practices were all more or less given and were embedded within a shared worldview, which largely ensured such experiences. If these failed, the Church provided those involved with the guidelines needed to evaluate the situation. In modern fluid society, such guidelines are no longer a given. Approaching this challenge as an opportunity, however, it can also be said that a plethora of ritual material, examples, and templates have become available now. So, when striving to design a good ritual, one can pick whichever guideline(s) fits one's needs.

The Challenge of Attracting an Audience

A second challenge that can be noted is that whereas, traditionally, people would attend the practices associated with All Souls' Day simply because it was the normal thing to do, now, visitors to new rites of collective commemoration have to be attracted. This means publicity has to be sought and the concept behind the commemoration has to appear alluring. With the ritual field of collective commemorations growing, things are also increasingly competitive. In the past, it was taken for granted that people visited their own parish and its cemetery, but, now, people can just as easily go to the commemoration meeting at the elderly home or the local adaptation of the *Allerzielen Alom* project instead. However, this challenge, too, presents itself as an opportunity. The audience for the original All Souls' Day practices was limited to the members of the parish; nowadays, all kinds of people can potentially be drawn to a church, crematorium, concert hall, or hospital. As a result, these people might even become interested in the services offered for other occasions as well.

The Challenge of Ensuring Repetition

On a third and related point, people can only come back if something is organized again. As an institution, the Roman Catholic Church ensured repetition of its important rituals, such as All Souls' Day. It trained people to conduct them, provided spaces to perform them and the objects that were to be used, and, very importantly, it provided the money needed to pay for them. Many of these supporting frameworks to ensure repetition cannot be taken for granted nowadays; they have to be created if the goal is to make something lasting. Thus, the challenges that need to be met include developing reliable new organizational structures, acquiring needed objects, finding locations, and securing stable finances. Even here, though, such challenges provide opportunities as well. Without fixed organizational structures, there is room for new people to get involved. Without predetermined objects and locations, the usefulness of new ones can be experimented with. And, without fixed financing, new partnerships might be explored.

Exploring the Challenges

Although differentiated here for purposes of analysis, each of the three categories delineated also interact. For example, if repetition is enforced too rigidly, the ritual experience might run stale and people may decide to stop coming. Then again, if creative new guidelines are introduced too frequently, the sense of continuity may easily be lost. The question, therefore, is how do people deal with these challenges in practice? How do they organize their efforts and what are their results?

Below, answers to these questions will be sought by looking at six different case studies. As was discussed in detail in chapter one, information on these case studies was acquired through a combination of semi-open interviews with key figures and participant observation during commemorations in 2011 and/or 2012. The participant observation also involved attending preparatory meetings, workshops, and evaluation meetings. The cases were selected from the database on the basis of a set of criteria aimed at providing a good overview of the general trends while also making comparison viable. Each of these cases can be considered a telling example of its particular domain, chosen to be representative but also illustrative. As such, the challenges and opportunities that play out in the cases discussed below are of the same kind as the ones faced by those involved in the other collective commemorations making up the emerging ritual field, even though there will, of course, be differences of degree as well as of detail.

Catholic Rites of Collective Commemoration

Both Catholic case studies that will be discussed here concern All Souls' Day celebrations of the Saint Francis Church in the town of Oudewater. One is a service held in the church, the other a parallel activity at the cemetery.

A Catholic Church Service

As with Catholic All Souls' Day church services in general, the service in Oudewater primarily revolves around the reciting of the names of the deceased. In Oudewater, however, this does not always involve the burning of candles. Instead, a theme is chosen each year to serve as a focal point for the service and, in some years, this also leads to diverging practices. In 2012, for example, the candles were replaced by little bags containing a stone inscribed with an inspirational word such as love, peace, and freedom. With the reciting of the names these little bags would be placed next to a big candle by the priest who presided over the service. Interestingly, none of this was the priest's idea. Instead, the idea originated from two members of the wake workgroup. This workgroup, comprised entirely of laypeople, was created in 1989 by a former parish priest and consists of two coordinators and five fixed couples. They take care of these wakes together, but also organize the All Souls' Day service once every few years.

At first glance, it might seem that no serious challenges are faced in regards to the All Souls' Day church service in the Oudewater parish. Yet, many of the things relied upon for the traditional All Souls' Day practices are missing from the picture. The pastor involved, for example, is not the same every year and is not always a priest either, due to the shortage of priests. When interviewed, the elderly priest who was involved in the 2012 service underlined this fact. He said his own involvement in these matters was small. He would perform the Eucharist, the sermon, and some of the prayers, but the rest was up to the two people from the wake workgroup. He described their role as safeguarding the local tradition, while mediating it with the wider Catholic one. This means that making a "good" ritual, attracting an audience, and ensuring repetition are all burdens that have fallen upon the shoulders of a group of laypeople within the parish.

These burdens are carried with enthusiasm, showing again how they can equally be seen as opportunities. Attending one of the preparatory meetings of the couple in charge of organizing the service in 2012, they explained how they had both been involved with this workgroup since its inception, working together all this time. Of the issues that have to be overcome, their main focus is on how to create a comforting ritual. The issue of attracting an audience is secondary because the All Souls' Day service already attracts decent numbers of parishioners due to an increased focus on giving each other support for one's loss. As to the frameworks that support continuity, the group can rely on the parish for finances. The dialectic between having a new couple organize the service every year, while coordinating ideas and efforts between couples under the larger umbrella of the wake workgroup, has ensured organizational continuity while still leaving room for innovation and experimentation.

According to one of the two members of the wake workgroup involved in 2012, the on-going challenge, however, is to ensure that those attending have a good evening, particularly those in their parish who have lost someone in the preceding year. As the priest explained above, with the group operating in a grey area of the Catholic liturgy, this involves a lot of mediating between local traditions and the official Catholic ones. No guidelines exist for finding a way through this swamp.

Instead, building blocks are picked up from a variety of sources and have been acquired over the years. The theme chosen in 2012, "A Name in Stone," is a good example of the diversity of influences involved and was already referred to in chapter two as an example of how actors within the emerging field are increasingly oriented towards each other. In particular, this concerned a visit of the coordinator of the Oudewater cemetery project to a commemorative concert organized by a Protestant church from the nearby town of Reeuwijk, a project described in more detail in the next section. In the interlude of this concert a ritual was performed with stones on which names were written. Being inspired by this, the coordinator of the cemetery project, coincidentally also a member of the wake workgroup, suggested to the couple organizing the service in 2012 to use stones as focal points for both the service and the cemetery project. The stones used during the service were the result of that discussion. As we will see below, its counterpart in the cemetery project did not come to fruition due to various circumstances.

Although the wake group seems to have a firm grasp on how to organize the All Souls' Day service in Oudewater, this does not mean that the future of their way of doing things is secured. When talking about services like these with the priest, he expressed his worries about the new generation of priests who, according to him, have lost touch with the appreciation of local culture, an appreciation that came out of the Second Vatican Council. In his view, many of these priests would rather just stick to what the Church has provided them, i.e., what we dubbed rooted ritualizing, rather than meet the challenge of working with what the community has to offer, making future of arrangements like these uncertain.

A Catholic Cemetery Event

The other Catholic case study to be looked at concerns the collective commemoration at the cemetery of the town of Oudewater which we saw in the introduction. This project, called *Allerzielen in 't Licht* or "All Souls' Day in the Light", originated in 2010 in the diocese of Rotterdam. There, a liturgical theologian, working within the diocese's section for a missionary church, found inspiration in the *Allerzielen Alom* project described previously. Having interviewed the artist behind these projects and having served as a volunteer at one of these events, she came to the conclusion that these ritual art projects felt essentially Catholic. She decided to adapt the ideas behind them to her own purposes, i.e., making church rituals more outwardly oriented. In order to do so, however, she needed partners. Eventually, she was brought into contact with the pastoral team of Oudewater. Apart from the pastors, this team consisted of two lay members, who were both very excited about participating in this project. Together with two additional volunteers, the woman from the wake group couple mentioned above, one other volunteer who joined the team in 2011, and in collaboration with the liturgist, the team organized the 2010 "All Souls' Day in the Light" evening at their local Catholic cemetery. The priest was only asked to give advice on a few occasions, and his only other role was the blessing of a heart of flower bulbs the visitors had been planting throughout the evening. The other small ritual options offered throughout the cemetery were things like having a grave blessed by one

of the lay volunteers, having the names of the deceased sung in a new type of litany by the choir, and collectively eating soul cakes or drinking mulled wine. The liturgist also selected bible passages that were put on displays next to each of these "ritual hotspots".

Of course, a new ritual project like the one described here will always face more challenges than a church service that has been in existence for about two decades. A new audience has to be convinced to attend, which meant making and distributing posters and seeking publicity through local media. That this is indeed just as much an opportunity as it is a challenge will be clear from the liturgist's stated goals to use this project as an experiment in making church ritual more outwardly oriented. With the coordinator of the group being a graphic designer by training, and all members having large networks, this part was tackled with enthusiasm.

An issue this team was less familiar with, however, was establishing guidelines for ensuring a good ritual experience. It is here that the liturgist did most of her work, albeit in collaboration with the local team. Together they discussed, modified, and added to the ritual ideas she had developed on the basis of her experiences with the *Allerzielen Alom* project. In these discussions, as well as the ones in later years, the importance of "keeping it Catholic" was a constantly recurring theme. Despite her importance at this stage, however, the liturgist emphasized that although it was vital to have what she called a spider in the web, i.e., someone willing and able to get people excited and see things through, she should not be that person. Instead, the project needed to be a community effort first and foremost. As such, she almost completely withdrew from the organization in Oudewater after the first year. New ideas, she stated, would no longer have to come from her primarily, but from the local team, other locations organizing an "All Souls' Day in the Light" evening, or maybe even one of the *Allerzielen Alom* projects. So far, however, such steps have not really been taken in Oudewater, although the first attempts have been made, as with the stones mentioned in the previous section.

The challenge that currently most vexes the organizing team is setting up the supporting frameworks to ensure future repetition. When initially interviewed, the coordinator was convinced any finances would be taken care of by the parish. However, later on, after the parish had merged with other parishes, he expressed more doubts in this regard. An even more fundamental issue to him, however, is that of finding the right people to pull the cart, as he put it. He has hopes to turn this project into a tradition, so that he can eventually hand the job over to someone else. In practice this would mean the formation of a special work group who would do the actual organizing rather than the pastoral team itself. He added that he personally would have trouble just doing supervision and nothing else, being someone who likes challenges. During the evaluation meeting after the 2012 celebration, the topic was broached several times as well. With one lay member of the pastoral team indicating that she might not have enough time next year, and the coordinator wanting to focus on the church service in 2013, the vulnerability of this project in this regard is clearly evident.

Protestant Rites of Collective Commemoration

As with the Catholic cases discussed above, both a Protestant commemorative church service and a more outwardly oriented project of collective commemoration have been selected for further analysis. In this case, however, the two are not from the same town. The second case was already mentioned above and pertains to a concert organized by the Protestant church of Reeuwijk, whereas the first can be found in the town of Veenendaal.

A Protestant Church Service

The Goede Reede congregation in Veenendaal is a fairly new church, in a fairly new neighborhood, right in the middle of what is sometimes called the Dutch Bible Belt. It is a lot less Orthodox than most of the other churches in town. Being a rather progressive community, they started doing commemorative services on the last Sunday of the liturgical year, the Sunday before Advent, right from the start in the mid-1980s. As we have seen, this day, sometimes also known as Eternity Sunday, has become the most generally accepted date amongst Protestant churches for conducting their collective commemorations. Initially, no candles were burned, but this was introduced fairly soon afterwards. In 1994 the church also started using symbolic flower arrangements as the centerpiece for the service. From the beginning of the 2000s, burning candles for those whose names were recited was complemented by an invitation to all those in church to come forward and burn a tea light for their dearly departed. In Veenendaal, special services like these are not organized by the minister of the church alone. Instead, she works together with a liturgical workgroup that has two preparatory meetings for each particular service. These meetings are always attended by the coordinator of this group, the minister, the pastoral worker, and the choir representative. Additionally, there is a list of interested church members who will only be scheduled for a couple of these meetings each year.

As with the church service at the Saint Francis parish in Oudewater, many challenges for organizing a collective commemoration ritual have already been met at the Goede Reede Church in Veenendaal. A stable organizational framework is already in place in the form of the liturgical workgroup and having a variety of people in that group also helps to keep things from becoming too static. There is also a guideline for the basic set up of the services themselves, which was written by the coordinator of the group and a former minister a few years prior. Although this might seem to imply that the issue of finding guidelines for creating a ritual that works has become a non-issue in Veenendaal, the practice turned out to be different. During one of the meetings in 2012, for example, it became clear that all was far from set in stone structure wise. One of the volunteers of the liturgical workgroup, a woman who asks to be scheduled for this particular service every year, suggested doing the commemorative part of the service earlier so that the dead would feel present throughout the rest of the service. It was revealed in a later conversation that this idea had been at least in part inspired by a television program aired by a Dutch Catholic network which dealt with new All Souls' Day

projects in the Netherlands. Her suggestion sparked a big debate on the pros and cons of this liturgical step, but, in the end, it did in fact lead to an experiment with changing the structure for this particular service.

Another issue, which seemed to be prominently on the minds of those in the liturgical workgroup, was how to deal with having attracted a new audience. Like with the Catholic church service, their yearly commemorative service is well attended. Many of those in attendance, however, are family members of church members who died in the preceding year. Many of them are not, or not any longer, churchgoing themselves. As a result, certain bible passages suggested in the ecumenical reading roster normally used are considered ill-fitting, and songs with lyrics that are too heavy-handed are not opted for. During the preparatory meeting, the minister is often the first to point out the importance of keeping these guests in mind, but at the same time she advocates the importance of keeping the service Protestant in nature, which to her means stressing hope for life after death. One way of dealing with this conundrum is through experimentation with more open-ended material symbolism, another aspect of Roman Catholicism which Calvin frowned upon but which many Dutch Protestant churches embrace nowadays. Examples of this highlight the challenges involved with ensuring repetition if the frameworks needed are based on individual talents rather than being provided through institutional channels. This became particularly evident when the local artist and church member who made the candles for the service had grown too old to keep doing so. Although special candles were ordered in 2011 to fill the gap, these were smaller and lacked the initials of the deceased, disappointing some of the bereaved. When the minister and the pastoral worker, together with the church council, were visiting a congregation in another city the next year, they came across a new type of ceramic tea light holder. Inspired, they contacted a potter belonging to their community who made his own version, which included a multitude of references to such things as Da Vinci's Vitruvian Man, the cross, and the embrace of the community. When the workgroup discussed the various material symbols employed in this service, such as flower pieces, candles, and candleholders, the risks inherent in having to rely upon specific people for their production were a recurring topic. At the same time, however, having to find such creative individuals was also hailed as an opportunity for exploring new relationships.

A Protestant Requiem Concert

The other Protestant project to be discussed is still very much in its infancy. The congregation involved, De Ark in Reeuwijk, used to have a commemorative meeting on the last Sunday of the liturgical year, which included reciting names and burning candles. However, after the present minister arrived in 2007, several changes were introduced. One of these was a liturgical move, as he himself called it, from the usual date to the Sunday before All Souls' Day. Among his reasons for this was a desire to connect to the wider societal interest for commemoration, which he had started to notice around this time of year. In addition to having moved the date of the commemorative service, the minister had also been thinking

about doing a more outwardly oriented activity at the cemetery. His inspiration for that idea came from things he had heard about the *Allerzielen Alom* project in Amsterdam, as well as an offshoot of that project organized by a good friend from his previous congregation. As a step towards something similar, the congregation started to organize commemorative concerts in 2011. This idea initially came from the organizer of the church's choir concerts, who had attended the presentation of a new cycle of songs for funerals and commemoration by two famous Dutch ecumenical composers/lyricists. The minister gave further form to this idea by complementing the concert with the ritual of using stones to write names upon, which was already described earlier. This rite was performed during the interlude of the concert and was introduced by the minister as a ritual having its roots in Christian, Jewish, and Buddhist practices. In 2011, two concerts were held, one in Reeuwijk on the afternoon of the commemorative church service and one in the nearby town of Oudewater, where afterwards the minister exchanged ideas with the coordinator of All Souls in the Light. In 2012, only one concert was held on All Saints' Day. Large parts of that year's Dutch requiem called "*Een Requiem voor de Levenden*" or "A Requiem for the Living" were used instead of normal songs during the actual church service on the preceding Sunday.

As stated, this project is still very much in its infancy. As a result, it faces many challenges that have already been resolved in some of the other cases that have been discussed. In fact, during an interview in 2012, the minister explained that the decision to do a commemorative concert with a ritual interlude was opted for because he was worried about whether his townspeople would actually attend a collective commemoration at the cemetery. He was eager to attract a new audience, but felt a concert would have a lower threshold than a ritual event at the cemetery. By combining it with a small ritual interlude he hoped, however, to be able to lure the visitors into not just consuming the music but to engage them in a collective ritual performance as well, something he considered of great importance. Although attendance at the concerts was good in 2011, with most visitors being unfamiliar faces for the minister, the 2012 concert saw fewer visitors. Both the minister and the coordinator of the choir projects expressed worries about this and discussed various options for dealing with it, such as moving the concert back to the Sunday.

As to the challenge of finding guidelines for making a good ritual, the minister expressed difficulty with finding inspiration within the liturgical material offered by the Protestant Church in the Netherlands, to which his congregation belongs. Instead, he had to come up with new ideas himself or through contact with people he met. In doing so, his initial training in religious studies was also put to good use, such as when he gave equal attention to the history of using stones in Christian, Jewish, and Buddhist rituals. Catholic traditions also served as inspiration, and when asked what made his initiative a Protestant one, he answered that those are not the kind of questions he asks himself. In fact, in addition to being a Protestant minister, he is also an external lay member of a Benedictine monastery in the Netherlands.

Not fully having found its form yet also means the future of the project is not fully clear. The coordinator of the project choirs, in his capacity as chair of the church council, expressed the necessity for outwardly oriented projects like this one. In a similar vein, the minister explained that offering the wider local community a chance to perform a ritual of commemoration collectively in a time where this is no longer a given to most, still remained the goal. He is unsure, however, whether this will be at the cemetery in collaboration with a local funeral company or other potential partners, or through ritual elaboration of the current form, for example, by having various art corners inside the church during the concert. With no clear image of future intentions for this project having formed yet, the question of creating supporting frameworks for the sake of ensuring repetition is also still up in the air, keeping the room for experimentation wide open.

Non-ecclesial Rites of Collective Commemoration

For both the Catholic and Protestant collective commemoration rituals discussed above, one of the two case studies was a fairly new ritual initiative, while the other was an established church service. Stepping outside these ecclesial domains, the former category will be represented by an offshoot of the *Allerzielen Alom* project in the town of Velsen. The second category, a church service, does not, of course, exist outside of the churches. To replace it, a commemorative meeting at a crematorium in the city of The Hague will be analyzed instead. Although also rather new, as a commemorative meeting it is fairly similar in structure to the church services we have seen so far.

A Non-ecclesial Crematorium Service

Collective commemorations have been held at the Nieuw Eijkenduijnen crematorium since 2002, and were the result of an initiative coming from a local Catholic pastor. This pastor, who had previously worked at a home for the elderly, decided to start working on his own in order to focus on doing funerals for the growing number of people he came across who were still interested in faith related matters but had lost touch with the Church as an institution. This decision, however, resulted in having his position within the Catholic Church revoked by the diocese. Subsequently, now calling himself a pastoral partner, he predominantly started doing work for the local branches of Yarden, one of the larger Dutch funeral insurance companies, which, in the Netherlands, often have their own funeral homes, cemeteries, and crematoriums. In addition to doing funerals, this entrepreneurial pastor also saw a need to translate the kind of commemorative meetings that had come up in the elderly care sector about a decade earlier to this crematorium setting. His proposition was accepted by the location managers of the five local branches of Yarden in the region. Each of these locations now has between one and five of these meetings every year. For these meetings, the bereaved of someone who was cremated or buried at one of these locations will be invited, but others are welcome as well. Although spread

throughout the year, the meetings always coincide with specific moments in the year, such as Mother's Day or Christmas. The commemoration with All Souls' Day was a new addition in 2012, and was requested by the national branch of the company, which recognized the growing societal significance of this period. At Nieuw Eijkenduijnen, most of the organizational work for these meetings is done by the company. The pastor's main task is to speak during the meeting. He explains its purpose, reads poems, tells stories, delivers a short contemplation, and, of course, recites the names of those to be commemorated. After each name, the bereaved in attendance can come forward and light a tea light. At a later point in the service there is an opportunity to do the same to commemorate others as well. In between, the gospel choir that has been hired sings a mix of popular and religious songs.

Through the pastor's partnership with the Yarden Company, the challenge of finding an audience for his ritual initiative was met from the start. In conjunction with this company, the financial, material, and organizational frameworks needed for ensuring repetition were quite easily set up as well. With respect to making a good ritual, the pastor relies on a set structure he formulated when he first began conducting these meetings. In an interview in 2012, he indicated that he considered such guidelines important for recognition. He explained that variation can happen but is not needed. Over time, however, different themes did arise for the various meetings held in a year. The pastor described this as putting together the various puzzle pieces he acquired over the years in slightly different ways for every meeting. These pieces include stories and poems he has written himself or has come across. The All Souls' Day service, which, confusingly, was held on All Saints' Day, does not really have its own texts or practices associated with it yet as it has just been newly introduced. Instead, the pastor used texts he would use for other meetings as well, merely adding some inspirational words about how to interpret All Souls' Day and All Saints' Day in the present times.

The pastor's goal is to reach those individuals who are not ordinarily found in church anymore but who are still interested in matters of faith and bring them together to experience a moment of community. However, when asked whether this type of meeting should be continued in the long term, he said that this particular form of meeting was not, by definition, necessary, although a viable substitute that achieved the same things would be. The floor manager, however, considered these meetings a crucial part of dealing with the bereavement process and stated that Yarden would never stop organizing them. This difference of opinion indicates that different things are at stake for the parties involved. The pastor is on a mission to reach people that otherwise might not be reached, whereas the floor manager is eager to safeguard the societal relevance of the company she works for. The continued existence of these meetings, then, is bound up with the extent to which these distinct aims keep coinciding. For the floor manager, upholding the frameworks that support the repetition of these events is quite literally part of her job description, which means her successor will inherit that task. The Yarden Company, however, could change the job description, putting the two parties at odds. The pastor's company is a one-man business. He is considering training

someone to take over the company one day, but it is unlikely he or she would have the exact same view on matters. Thus, even with proper supporting frameworks in place, the future of these meetings is still insecure, since the new partnership that has been struck to ensure repetition is itself inherently unstable.

A Non-ecclesial Cemetery Event

In chapter two it was mentioned that several offshoots existed of the *Allerzielen Alom* project. *Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht* or "*All Souls' Day Velsen Illuminated*" at the De Biezen cemetery near the town of Velsen is one of these offshoots.[138] The initiative to contact artist Ida van der Lee was taken here independently by the owner of a small local funeral company specialized in personal funerals and two municipal civil servants who had seen the project elsewhere. For its first occurrence, in 2009, the organization was a joint effort of the artist's team together with a local project group, which included, among others, the two women from the funeral company as well as several municipal civil servants. Starting from the second year, as had been planned, organization was put fully into the hands of this project group. In 2011, the project was formally registered as a non-profit organization and a board was established, of which the owner of the funeral company became the chair and for which several people were recruited who had large and varying networks. The municipality does not have a seat on this board as they only wish to be involved in a supporting role, not as a responsible party. This supporting role mainly takes the shape of the involvement of the municipal landscaping department, who also takes care of the various local cemeteries. It provides space for meetings and storage, manpower to complement the various volunteers involved, and the head of the department plays a crucial role in the project group. As to the actual composition of this ritual commemoration, there are few differences with the original project. There is a central square with hot drinks and an information stand, while the whole cemetery is illuminated through a combination of natural and electrical lighting. Spread out across the cemetery, visitors come across places where they can choose to do various things such as plant a flower bulb in honor of the deceased, have his or her name sung in a mantra, or have a favorite memory be brought back to life through Aboriginal sand painting.

In Velsen, the challenge of finding an audience for the first of these evenings was taken very seriously. So seriously in fact, that after the first year, when word of mouth started amplifying the already existing campaign of posters, press releases, and workshops, the problem slowly started to flip around. Rather than too few people attending, the project group is now most concerned about getting too many visitors to this small 19th-century cemetery. In addition to better management of the flow of people and reducing publicity, another option currently considered is to move to a larger cemetery, although the chair of the board fears that all of the challenges already overcome will then have to be faced anew. Interestingly though,

138 The translation used here for the Dutch word "verlicht" misses out on its double meaning, referring both to being illuminated and "lessening the burden".

when, in 2012, a Dutch Catholic television network started organizing, as well as broadcasting, a similar commemorative event at another nearby cemetery, this was interpreted as a form of competition rather than as a possible way to lessen the pressure on their own event.

Another challenge the project group continues to face is finding what they call "good art". This refers to the difficulties of acquiring the specific kind of interactive art installations called ritual art by artist Ida van der Lee. A recurring issue in this regard is the relationship with van der Lee's company, called Studio Ritual Art. On the one hand, the artistic rituals she delivers are considered to be of a higher quality than the ones developed locally, meaning they give way to better ritual experiences. On the other hand, relationships have become strained through discussions involving copyright infringement. As a result, alternatives are still being considered, like acquiring art through the people involved in other local versions of the All Souls' All Around project or through an independent project that arose around the same time as *Allerzielen Alom* in the city of Almere.[139]

Meanwhile, the organizers of at least one other *Allerzielen Alom* offshoot have shown interest in the way things are organized more and more professionally in Velsen. Asking about such matters in an interview with the chair of the board and the head of the project group, they expressed that they simply consider it important to continue what they started. As such, there is much talk about creating a tradition. However, with the municipality shirking direct financial responsibility and the chairwoman's funeral company having limited resources, there is no stable source of funding. During interviews, as well as in the various meetings, it was stressed that this was, at present, the most dire challenge faced. The association now has to rely on donations, sponsorships, and experiments with crowd funding in combination with the material and staffing support provided by the municipality and the funeral company. A final option that is being explored is to find additional partners, such as one or more larger local funeral companies. Clearly, the future of the project very much depends on how these things pan out.

Liquid Ritualizing: Defining Characteristics

When comparing our six case studies, differences can be identified between how challenges and opportunities were met by the churches and by those outside these ecclesial settings, as well as between the newer ritual projects and those already established for quite some time. For purposes of better understanding the particular features of liquid ritualizing, however, it is more important to focus on the similarities with regards to how challenges were dealt with rather than on the differences.

One similarity that clearly draws attention is ritual transfer having indeed claimed center stage. Scholars from the "Ritual Dynamics" research group at Heidelberg University have argued that ritual transfer is what happens when

139 See entry N035 of the database (Appendix 1).

the context of a rite changes.[140] Generally, to deal with such contextual changes, elements of rites from other traditions will be adapted. They add that from an etic perspective such processes can be recognized as always on-going, even though from an emic perspective these same rites are generally regarded as essentially unchanging. This last point does not seem to apply to the six cases studied here. The people who were ritualizing in these cases did not seem to regard their rites as essentially unchanging. Instead, innovation seems to be deemed more or less an integral part of ritualizing. The fact that many of the elements borrowed, guidelines employed, and frameworks adopted originated elsewhere, what we dubbed "innovating from traditions", is likewise treated as a normal state of affairs. An important difference between liquid ritualizing and rooted ritualizing, then, is the open and forthright attitude towards ritual transfer.

A second similarity in how challenges and opportunities were approached flows from the previous one, and concerns the organizational dimension. All the cases discussed saw workgroups, teams, partnerships, and couples working together to overcome the challenges of late modernity and grasp its opportunities. In conjunction with ritual transference having become predominant, new organizational forms have been emerging as well, as is to be expected when a new field emerges. Some of these are meant to counteract the absence of institutions, while others exist in their margins, complementing their formal structures. In these new organizational forms, collaboration between various individuals and the networks they bring to the table is a recurring feature. A protestant minister hears of a non-ecclesial project inspired by Catholic folk traditions and discusses these with the coordinator of a similar project started by a liturgist of the diocese of Rotterdam, who was also inspired by that same *Allerzielen Alom* project. The coordinator, in turn, talks about that concert with the person co-organizing the church service, who uses one of the elements of that ritual event to set the theme of that service. Meanwhile, a pastor has his calling revoked by that same diocese because he organizes collective commemorations in crematoriums belonging to the Yarden Company, who, in 2008, awarded artist Ida van der Lee a prize for her *Allerzielen Alom* initiative. Her way of developing rituals art is also highly valued in Velsen, where the head of the project group worries about what is going on at a nearby cemetery where the Catholic television news network is recording what she considers to be a rivaling event. Finally, on the other side of the country, in Veenendaal, a volunteer at the local Protestant church hears about this television program and is inspired to propose a change in structure to the church's own yearly rite of commemoration. We see here just a glimpse of a vast network of connections between people who are, in some way, interested in rites of collective commemoration.

A related similarity seems to counteract, somewhat paradoxically, the traditions-spanning tendencies of these emerging networks. This concerns a tendency to put quite some effort into maintaining one's identity. In several of the cases, we saw preoccupations with keeping things Protestant, Catholic, or simply local. Focus

140 Langer et al., "Transfer of Ritual."

was on developing one's own guidelines, on developing local traditions, and on catering to the local community. Maybe it is precisely because of the fluidity of the networks that people are involved in that the local identity has become so important. Being aware of so many alternatives existing, and even being directly or indirectly connected to some of the people involved, the question of what distinguishes one's project from another's easily surfaces. This again shows that whereas institutions provided the context of rooted ritualizing, networks and collaborations do the same for liquid ritualizing.

A final, and arguably more fundamental, similarity concerns the stability – or, better put, the inherent instability – of the collective commemorations that were studied. It is not just the ritual creations themselves that are unstable; the relationships underpinning them are too. In the networks described above, none of the partnerships and collaborations involved was set in stone. In fact, many relationships were implicit, indirect, or one-sided; some were even downright volatile. This volatility creates new challenges and can even lead to projects being discontinued. Those involved, however, also display a certain eagerness towards this instability. It creates room for them to experiment in and it keeps them on their toes. Like the coordinator in Oudewater said, they are the kind of people who like challenges. Or, perhaps more accurately, they are people who see the opportunities hidden in the challenges. So, while highly motivated to overcome the obstacles late modernity throws at them, they tackle them by embracing late modernity's very liquidity. To steal an image from Berman, they make themselves at home in the maelstrom.[141]

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, questions were raised concerning the development of stable and coherent ritual wholes in the face of the various challenges inherent in late modern times. Is this still feasible? And, more to the point, if it is, what form of ritualizing is involved in such endeavors? An answer to these questions was sought through the analysis of the newly emerged ritual field of collective commemoration in the Netherlands. It was argued that by establishing connections on a local, regional, and even international scale, people challenge the fluidity of our modern societies. It is through distributing and acquiring ritual know-how via the intricate web of connections of this ritual field that challenges were overcome. In fact, we could even say that the very ritual field itself is the result of all these individuals and groups making connections across the permeable boundaries of existing traditions. Fligstein and McAdam would certainly agree. This new attitude towards ritualizing was dubbed liquid ritualizing in contrast to the more rooted approach to ritualizing that preceded it. Its main characteristics appear to be an openness towards ritual transfer, the importance of networks, which is complemented by the seemingly paradoxical importance of locality, and, finally, an embracing of instability as a virtue as much as a vice.

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141 Berman, *All That Is Solid*, 345-46.

Arriving at such conclusions, it is important not to oversimplify the dichotomy created here. People have always worked together to create rituals and there have always been people looking across the fence at how those standing in another tradition achieved things. In a similar vein, balancing continuity and innovation is not a new challenge either. Generally speaking though, certain things have changed. In the past, it was innovation and individuality that were the hard things to achieve in the face of institutionalism. Now, repetition and collaboration have come under duress when faced with an increasing societal fluidity.

Although coming out of a study of specific kind of rites in a particular region, it seems improbable that the insights gained here are limited to this case study alone, given that they concern responses to fundamental changes in society that affects religion in general. In relation to these changes, scholars of religion have claimed societal forces such as deinstitutionalization[142] or individualization[143] to be the defining characteristics of present day religiosity. These emphasize the fluidity. This chapter hopes to have shown that it is equally important to pay attention to the people aiming to collaborate and, by doing so, attempt to construct new or renewed ritual traditions for the future in the face of that fluidity.

In chapter five, the idea that rites can be designed is discussed in more detail. In particular, the hidden consequences of such a paradigm are explored so as to understand more fully the actual position of ritual in present day society.

142 E.g., Meerten B. ter Borg, "Non-Institutional Religion in Modern Society," *Implicit religion* 11, no. 2 (2008).

143 E.g., Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead, *The Spiritual Revolution : Why Religion Is Giving Way to Spirituality* (Malden: Blackwell Pub., 2005).

Chapter 5

Revising the Ritual Design Paradigm

Rituals work. They do or achieve something. Moreover, in late modernity, rituals increasingly seem to be perceived as "problem solvers", meaning they can be creatively developed or ritualized in such a way that they achieve certain things in particular or address certain issues. They can be designed to fulfill a specific purpose, and those involved can steer "their" rites towards certain ends. In the interdisciplinary field of ritual studies, the concept of ritual design, as well as related concepts such as ritual creativity and ritualizing, is about giving center stage to the designers involved, the so-called ritualizers or ritualists. The way ritual was treated in the previous chapters, particularly in chapter four, clearly fits this approach as well. A danger implicit in such a focus on the designing of rites, however, is that one can easily come to see the rites themselves as mere by-products of whatever it is that the designers decided to do. The question raised here, therefore, is what structural aspects of ritual are obscured when rites are only studied from the viewpoints of this popular paradigm?

In order to look for answers to this question, the first section of this chapter will delve a bit deeper into the ritual design paradigm alluded to above, so as to see where it originated from and what purpose it serves. As in the previous chapters, answers will not be sought through studying theory alone, however, but through empirical material as well. In particular, use will again be made of the fieldwork conducted on the case studies selected from the database detailed in chapter one. Unlike in the previous chapter, however, these cases will not be presented in the sections below according to their denominations but on the basis of their relevance for the argument at hand. As a result, they are interwoven in the six sections that follow, each of which focuses on a particular concept from the field of ritual studies. In each section, a concept will first be introduced and then some relevant empirical data will be explored. Finally, the implications of these empirical explorations will be reflected upon in each section so as to see whether the way this concept is currently used means that blind spots show up in how ritual is perceived. This can then serve as a stepping stone towards future revisions of the way such theoretical concepts are employed within the field of ritual studies, while simultaneously increasing our understanding of the ritual field under investigation here. The concepts, in order, are framing, efficacy, ritual failure, emergence, ritual criticism, and repetition. In the concluding remarks, answers to the question posed above will be formulated on the basis of the revisions proposed in these six sections.

The Ritual Design Paradigm

As indicated above, a shift has occurred in how ritual is generally perceived. As we saw in chapter three, according to Catherine Bell the fundamental thing that has changed concerns the sources of a rite's authority. Whereas authority used to derive from the traditions in which a rite was embedded, it now stems from the recognition of ritual as being a universal phenomenon and a central psychosocial dynamic in human affairs.[144] In that same chapter, however, we also saw that this does not mean that traditions are no longer relevant for contemporary ritualizing, although chapter four showed that ritualizing is indeed much less rooted in a particular tradition today than it used to be.

The idea that ritual is a force in its own right is readily recognizable in the titles of recent academic volumes such as *Ritual in Its Own Right: Exploring the Dynamics of Transformation*, or *Ritual Matters: Dynamic Dimensions in Practice*.[145] Here it is important to note that "ritual dynamics" in this regard, only refer to a rite's structural dynamics, the means by which it acts as a transformative power. As such, these volumes clearly bear the traces of the seminal work of Victor Turner. A good example of Turner's influences can be seen in Bruce Kapferer's contribution to the latter of these two volumes, in which he builds upon Turner's ideas to argue for ritual as a *sui generis* transformative force which can pragmatically transform everyday life by being distinct from it.[146] Bell even goes a step further and not only points out Turner's influence in the academic world but also identifies him as "the authority behind much American ritual invention,"[147] and warns the academic field of ritual studies that it "may well be in the very process of actually creating ritual as the universal phenomenon we have long taken it to be."[148] Ronald Grimes similarly discusses the relationship between the study of ritual and changes in the ritual landscape, yet he sees the relationship as less straightforward.[149] According to him, from the 1960s onwards, ritual slowly started to be associated with creativity rather than being all about maintaining the status quo in so far as the countercultures of this era provided ample examples of such transformative ritual dynamics. Rather than scholars of ritual creating a new paradigm for ritual, then, Grimes sees it as coming out of a more complex dialectic relationship in which popular ideas gained academic respect while scholarly concepts were popularized. From this point of view, both ritual and the study of ritual are merely adapting

144 Bell, *Ritual*, 263-65.

145 Don Handelman and Galina Lindquist, *Ritual in Its Own Right : Exploring the Dynamics of Transformation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); Christiane Brosius and Ute Hüsken, *Ritual Matters : Dynamic Dimensions in Practice* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

146 Bruce Kapferer, "Ritual Dynamics and Virtual Practice," in *Ritual in Its Own Right : Exploring the Dynamics of Transformation*, ed. Don Handelman and Galina Lindquist (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

147 Bell, *Ritual*, 263.

148 Bell, *Ritual*, 265. See also Lee Gilmore's comments on the almost too perfect fit of Turner's concepts for her case study, the Burning Man Festival in the Nevada desert: Lee Gilmore, "Of Ordeals and Operas : Reflexive Ritualizing at the Burning Man Festival," in *Victor Turner and Contemporary Cultural Performance*, ed. Graham St. John (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

149 Ronald L. Grimes, *Ritual Criticism : Case Studies in Its Practice, Essays on Its Theory*, 1st ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 21.

to changing societal circumstances, to what Grimes calls "the demands that postmodern culture makes […] on ritual."[150]

Whether seen as the reification of existing academic concepts or as a case of adaptation to changes in society, it seems impossible to discuss the new paradigm that arose without referring to concepts such as "invention" or "creativity". Bell, for example, points out that an important consequence of ritual no longer deriving its authority from tradition is that it gives ritualists the authority to creatively invent rites. Grimes, meanwhile, draws attention to the performative experiments both Turner and himself were involved in.[151] Current studies looking into ritual creativity or related concepts such as ritual invention, or ritualizing, cover a wide terrain. There are those who study modern pagan rites,[152] online rites,[153] ritual and its relation to place,[154] death rites,[155] or the rites of the ancient Mediterranean world.[156] Others highlight the roles of specific types of ritualists like women,[157] Native American artists,[158] or independent celebrants.[159] Still others emphasize what Kapferer alluded to above, namely, that rites can be used to achieve certain goals. They explain how rites are or can be created to enhance one's life,[160] and

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150 Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 24. What Grimes refers to here as the demands of postmodernity is what we called the challenges of late modernity in chapter four.

151 Ronald L. Grimes, "Defining Nascent Ritual," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50, no. 4 (1982). For more of Grimes' work on ritual creativity see Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone*; Ronald L. Grimes, "Reinventing Ritual," *Soundings* 75, no. 1 (1992).

152 E.g., Léon A. van Gulik, "The Goddess Does Play Dice: Creativity and Non-Intentionality in Contemporary Pagan Ritual," in *The Ritual Year 6: The Inner and the Outer*, ed. Mare Kõiva (Tartu: ELM Scholarly Press, 2011); Jone Salomonsen, "The Ethno-Methodology of Ritual Invention in Contemporary Culture: Two Pagan and Christian Cases," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 17, no. 2 (2003); Åsa Trulsson, "Cultivating the Sacred : Ritual Creativity and Practice among Women in Contemporary Europe" (PhD, Lund University, 2010).

153 Nadja Miczek, "Rituals Online - Dynamic Processes Reflecting Individual Pespectives," *Masaryk University Journal of Law and Technology* 1, no. 1 (2007); Kerstin Radde-Antweiler, "Rituals Online : Transferring and Designing Rituals," *Online: Heidelberg's Journal of Religions on the Internet* 1, no. 2 (2006).

154 Paul Post and Arie L. Molendijk, *Holy Ground : Re-Inventing Ritual Space in Modern Western Culture* (Lueven: Peeters, 2010).

155 Eric Venbrux, Meike Heessels, and Sophie Bolt, *Rituele Creativiteit : Actuele Veranderingen in De Uitvaart- En Rouwcultuur in Nederland* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2008).

156 E.g., Angelos Chaniotis and Sonderforschungsbereich 619 "Ritualdynamik--Soziokulturelle Prozesse in Historischer und Kulturvergleichender Perspektive.", *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean : Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2011); Olivier Hekster, Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, and Christian Witschel, *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire : Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

157 E.g., Jan Berry, "Whose Treshold? Women's Strategies of Ritualization," *Feminist Theology* 14, no. 3 (2006); Lesley A. Northup, *Ritualizing Women : Patterns of Spirituality* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1997).

158 Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "Ritualizing Ritual's Rituals," *Art Journal* 51, no. 3 (1992).

159 Julie Macdonald, "Contemporary Ritual-Makers: A Study of Independent Celebrants in New Zealand" (PhD, Massey University, 2011).

160 E.g., Tom Faw Driver, *Liberating Rites : Understanding the Transformative Power of Ritual* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998); Maria Liljas Stålhandske, "Ritual Invention: A Play Perspective on Existential Ritual and Mental Health in Late Modern Sweden" (PhD, Uppsala University, 2005).

even incite or influence conflict.[161] Some scholars even invent their own rites for the purposes of teaching how they work.[162]

Seeing ritual in a different light clearly has brought much insight. Bell, herself, for example, vehemently bemoaned the invisibility of ritual experts in older models, even though such experts have always been devising and decreeing rites.[163] Similarly, each of the examples of research given above, in some form or other, shows how creative ritualizing shapes ritual forms which, in turn, shape society. The paradigm we are discussing here, then, is not just one that portrays ritual as a central social force in human affairs, but one that claims that this force can be harnessed and that rites can be designed to fulfill certain goals by certain people. It is a paradigm of ritual design. This paradigm, either due to its influences or due to common origins, fits in very well with our contemporary late modern context, as Grimes argued above and we saw in chapter four. The question that does arise, however, is whether such a focus on ritual as being creatively designed does not also undermine our understanding of the rites themselves on certain points. What do we overlook when rites come to be seen as nothing but by-products of creative ritual design? And how does this impact our understanding of the emerging ritual field of collective commemoration? It is these questions that are at the heart of this chapter.[164]

In the sections that follow, several key concepts from the field of ritual studies will be critically reflected upon so as to identify whether the ritual design paradigm has any blind spots. As in the previous chapter, these reflections will take place on the basis of the fieldwork conducted on six case studies picked from the database of collective commemorations detailed in chapter one. The following cases will be referred to in the sections below: the Catholic All Souls' Day service in the town of Oudewater; the Catholic cemetery event that takes place in the same town; the Protestant commemorative Sunday church service in Veenendaal; the Protestant requiem concert in Reeuwijk; the non-ecclesial commemorative meeting at a crematorium in The Hague; and the non-ecclesial art project in Velsen.

Ritual Framing: The Setting of Boundaries

The first concept to be looked at here is framing. Much has been written about framing within the humanities and social sciences, but, arguably, the most important work for ritual studies was done by Gregory Bateson. Bateson described the frame as a meta-communicative and context-creating device, which defined a

161 Ronald L. Grimes, *Ritual, Media, and Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

162 Catherine M. Bell, *Teaching Ritual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Michael Houseman, "The Red and the Black: A Practical Experiment for Thinking About Ritual," *Social Analysis* 48, no. 2 (2004).

163 Catherine M. Bell, "The Authority of Ritual Experts," *Studia liturgica* 23, no. 1 (1993): 104.

164 Michael Houseman asks similar questions in an article prefacing the section on ritual design of one of the five volumes that came out of the 2008 conference on Ritual Dynamics in Heidelberg, Germany: Michael Houseman, "Trying to Make a Difference with "Ritual Design"," in *Reflexivity, Media, and Visuality*, ed. Udo G. Simon, et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

social action by means of distinguishing it from what it is not.[165] In ritual studies, framing is about boundaries, about things being set apart. Although Bateson's work has been critical for how framing is understood within ritual studies, more recently, his approach has become challenged. Don Handelman, in particular, critiqued Bateson's theory of framing for portraying the distinction between ritual and non-ritual as hierarchical, with the former being subordinate to the latter and only capable of change through outside influences, never from inside itself.[166] As an alternative, Handelman suggested replacing Bateson's lineal frame with what he called Moebius framing. This entails using the seemingly paradoxical Moebius strip, a geometric shape that has only one side that alternates between being internal and external, as a way to imagine a fuzzier kind of framing.[167] In the postlude to a special issue on ritual framing in the *Journal of Ritual Studies*, Handelman added that he thought it likely that lineal and Moebius framing are, in fact, extremes in a much wider field of framing.[168] Jens Kreinath, in this same issue, observed that in making these claims, Handelman is very much focusing on "the practice of ritual framing,"[169] while another contributor, Eddy Plasquy, argues that, for Handelman, the frame no longer seems to be given a priori.[170] In the introduction, meanwhile, Michael Houseman notes that, for Kreinath, framing and ritual design seem to be part of the same process and that, for Plasquy, framing appears to reside in the organization of the ritual practice itself.[171] Engler and Gardiner, also in this same issue, propose an alteration to Bateson's theory of framing too, but argue that it is even more important to pay attention to ritual's instrumental features.[172] This perspective, they say, opens up a host of new questions regarding things such as frame building, frame transfer, and the susceptibility of ritual experts to the frames they helped constitute.[173] What we see emerge here is a shift in how ritual framing is conceptualized. Whereas Bateson fell back on an abstract meta-communicative device to describe how ritual came to pass through distinction with non-ritual, newer conceptualizations of the framing concept refer, instead, to ritualizing practices and the people involved in them. In other words, within the ritual design paradigm, a gradual conflation of the concept of framing and that of ritualizing seems to be taking place. Looking at our case studies will help gauge

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165 Michael Houseman, "Pushing Ritual Frames Past Bateson," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 26, no. 2 (2012): 1.

166 Don Handelman, "Framing," in *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches*, ed. Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 571-73.

167 Handelman, "Framing," 581.

168 Don Handelman, "Postlude: Framing Hierarchically, Framing Moebiusly," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 26, no. 2 (2012): 66.

169 Jens Kreinath, "Naven, Moebius Strip, and Random Fractal Dynamics: Reframing Bateson's Play Frame and the Use of Mathematical Models for the Study of Ritual," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 26, no. 2 (2012): 49.

170 Eddy Plasquy, "Frames under Pressure: Probing the Transformational Dynamics within a Spanish Pilgrimage," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 26, no. 2 (2012): 23.

171 Houseman, "Pushing Ritual Frames," 3.

172 Steven Engler and Mark Q. Gardiner, "Re-Mapping Bateson's Frame," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 26, no. 2 (2012): 15.

173 Engler and Gardiner, "Re-Mapping," 16.

the usefulness of such a conflation. What new insights does associating framing with ritualizing bring and what does it leave out? In particular, the question of how ritual relates or is related to non-ritual is of importance here.

For those at work in the ritual field of collective commemoration, several possible foils seem to exist against which their own rites are contrasted. The non-ecclesial art project at the cemetery in Velsen is a good example. As we saw in the previous chapter, as a local offshoot of a larger phenomenon (*Allerzielen Alom*), the project uses a combination of autonomous and interactive art installations to transform the cemetery into a hospitable place where people can freely walk around and choose to participate in a variety of small artistic rituals. Those involved see their own event in contrast to a traditional church service on the one hand, while on the other hand, they worry about the event becoming too much like a carnival or, even worse, Halloween-like. Similar references to the latter are also made at the Catholic cemetery event in Oudewater, although mostly jokingly. Here, the more serious counterpoint is the All Souls' Day church service which takes place on the same night in the parish. It is important to those involved that the cemetery event and the church service remain distinct. Or, put differently, it is important that they are framed as serving different purposes. In certain instances, framing also seems to be kept blurry by design. The project in Velsen is situated somewhere between an art project and a commemoration ritual, while the minister of the Protestant church in Reeuwijk consciously frames his collective commemoration predominantly as a requiem concert. In the previous chapter it was already discussed how he, too, was initially inspired by the *Allerzielen Alom* project, but felt a requiem concert with ritual interlude would be more accessible. Interestingly, this rite with stones was introduced with references to Protestant, Jewish, and Buddhist practices – another merging of frames.

Looking at the examples above, several things become evident. First, contrasting one's own practice to others seems to be a common feature of ritualizing. Second, a common practice is not only establishing contrast, but creatively blurring the boundaries between genres is as well. This last point seems a good argument in favor of Handelman's model of fuzzy framing, with contrasts continuously both being established and falling away. A third observation, however, makes one wonder whether equating framing with the ways in which ritualists set boundaries in order to design their own rite does not mean losing sight of an important feature of what framing is about. This concerns the observation that the "other" in most of these cases is not non-ritual but, in fact, another genre of ritual practices. It might be tempting to equate framing with ritualizing, or at the very least see the former as a subcategory of the latter, and doing so might indeed bring new insights, such as highlighting the dynamic quality of framing and its role in establishing a rite's position in the wider ritual field. But it is not without reason that Bateson limited himself to the contrast between ritual and non-ritual. Bell makes this point as well when she says that framing is about setting something apart from routine reality, thereby attributing extra significance to it and creating a complete and condensed microcosm in which people's experiences are shaped

and the way they view the world is reordered.[174] At their core, rites are about a non-ordinary, possibly even transformative, kind of experience. The question is whether such ritual experiences really result from design alone? In the following sections that issue will be explored further.

As to the relation between framing and ritualizing, the most important point for now is that framing is about more than just the way those organizing a rite set boundaries in order to give it its own identity in relation to other rites or performative practices. Framing is also about paying attention to what distinguishes ritual from non-ritual.

Efficacy: Verifiable vs. Non-verifiable

When talking about ritual design, one is in fact talking about making a rite work. In ritual studies, discussions about "the work" that ritual does are often couched in terms of efficacy. Efficacy, however, can refer to several things, as Ute Hüsken has observed.[175] Building on the work of Moore and Myerhoff,[176] Hüsken first distinguishes between operational and doctrinal efficacy. The former refers to the empirically detectable physical, social, and sociological effects and might also be dubbed verifiable efficacy, whereas the latter refers to those effects that are postulated by those involved, but cannot be detected empirically, e.g., pleasing the gods or ensuring a good harvest.[177] This latter category might also be dubbed non-verifiable efficacy. Hüsken adds two more modes of efficacy to these first two. The first is what she refers to as a rite's possible performative efficacy. This category is based on John. L. Austin's illocutionary speech acts, which achieve their function simply by being uttered; the matrimonial "I do" is the most obvious example.[178] The second addition Hüsken argues for is those unplanned effects which emerge during the performance itself. The resulting four categories of efficacy, however, do not actually all seem to reside on the same level. The final two in particular do not seem to be alternatives to verifiable and non-verifiable efficacies, but are presented more as subcategories of the former. That is to say, both performative and emerging efficacy are presented by Hüsken as empirically detectable forms of efficacy, dealing with effects that can be observed. This observation does not only beg the question of whether more subtypes exist for this category, but also whether such subcategories could be distinguished for the category of non-

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174 Bell, *Ritual*, 160-61, 66.

175 Ute Hüsken, *When Rituals Go Wrong : Mistakes, Failure and the Dynamics of Ritual* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 351-52.

176 Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977).

177 Operational effects can be postulated as well of course, just as certain effects described in a religion's doctrines are not only postulated , but can, in fact, be empirically detected as well. The distinction referred to here is between the types of efficacy that are only postulated and those that can be empirically detected as well. To avoid confusion, operational efficacy has been replaced here with verifiable efficacy, and doctrinal efficacy with non-verifiable efficacy.

178 John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962). For a more extensive discussion of the implications of illocutionary speech acts for studying ritual efficacy see Sørensen: Jørgen Podemann Sørensen, "Efficacy," in *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches*, ed. Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

verifiable efficacy as well. An easy answer would be that such questions should be left to theologians rather than ritual studies scholars since non-verifiable effects do not pertain to the realms of the observable. The actual act of postulating itself, however, is of course observable. Therefore, we might wonder whether it is not simply our interest in design, with its focus on observable effects, which makes us highlight verifiable efficacy over non-verifiable efficacy.

A quick look at our case studies seems to confirm a clear shift of attention from non-verifiable efficacy to verifiable efficacy amongst those involved in designing rites of collective commemoration. The All Souls' Day church service in Oudewater is a good example of this. Organized by the parish's volunteer wake workgroup, this church service clearly shows the influences of this group's mission statement, which is to organize wake services that pay reverence to the memory of the dearly departed as well as give voice to compassion for the bereaved. In chapter four we saw how one of the two members of the wake workgroup underlined this objective after the 2012 service when he said that he very much liked the positive responses he had received, as he considered it his goal to give these people, i.e., the bereaved, a good evening. Clearly, his primary concern is with the rite's efficacy as a means of lending support to certain members of the parish, rather than with such non-verifiable concerns as saving souls in purgatory.[179] The former priest organizing the commemorative meetings at a crematorium in The Hague similarly focused on making sure those attending experienced a sense of togetherness.

When studied more thoroughly, however, it becomes evident that more might be going on in these cases. Interestingly, it is the offshoot of the non-ecclesial *Allerzielen Alom* art project at the cemetery in Velsen that proves to be a good case in point. It might seem odd to claim that non-verifiable efficacy is being postulated here, and it is indeed unlikely that one would catch any of the members of the project group in charge of this event talking about such matters. The ritual art installations used, however, contain various subtle references to establishing contact with the dead, even though such things are never made explicit. In one of the rites on offer, for example, visitors can write the name of a deceased person on a piece of paper which is then sung by the two a capella singers present. Afterwards, they return the piece of paper with the name on it to the bereaved, who are then invited to burn this piece of paper in a special fire, the smoke of which is illuminated from beneath, sending it to heaven along a pillar of light. In another rite being offered in Velsen, people are invited to write small texts on colored pieces of paper and place these together with a lit candle in small plastic containers on the cemetery pond. Although not prompted to do so, these texts are often referred to by the visitors as messages to the deceased. That none of these observations is trivial becomes evident when looking at the responses given by visitors in a survey held in 2009. Having had a feeling of close proximity to the dead, or even of having communicated with them, was a common theme in these responses.[180] Such feelings were similarly postulated in other cases, such as during

179 As we saw in chapter two, this shift in efficacy is part of a more widespread "pastoral turn" that has taken place in the Dutch Catholic church since the 1960s.

180 Venbrux, Quartier, and Arfman, "Nieuwe Allerzielen," 203-04.

the Catholic cemetery event in Oudewater or even the Protestant church service in Veenendaal.

What these cases demonstrate is that verifiable efficacy seems to be the primary concern to those involved with organizing these rites. Non-verifiable efficacy, in the sense of effects that are only postulated and cannot be empirically detected, plays a role too, however. Interestingly, the way it emerges in the non-ecclesial art project at the cemetery in Velsen goes to show that Hüsken's category of emerging efficacy turns out to be a subcategory of non-verifiable efficacy as well. For the issue under consideration here, it is above all important to note that postulated non-verifiable effects are easily missed when only paying attention to ritual design, as the ritualists involved generally tend to describe their aims in verifiable terms such as lending support, granting hope, or establishing a hospitable atmosphere. However, the postulated non-verifiable effects hiding behind this veil of verifiable allusions might be just as important to the actual rite.

Ritual Failure: The Fragility of Ritual Design

Implicit in talking about making rites work is the awareness that rites can also fail to work. In a discussion about the ritual design paradigm, this observation is of crucial importance. Sadly, the subject of ritual failure has not received much attention, even though Geertz already referred to the concept in 1957.[181] It was not until 1990 that Grimes also observed that ritual failure was seldom accounted for in ritual theory and started to build upon the work of Austin to counteract this fact. Austin's theory of illocutionary speech acts not only took their efficacy into account, but also categorized several more "infelicitous" outcomes. On the basis of this inventory and his own research, Grimes put forward a provisory typology of infelicitous ritual performances. This list of 15 potential ritual mishaps includes items such as misapplications, flaws, hitches, breaches, violations, omissions, and misframes.[182] On a more fundamental level, Grimes points out that different rites can fail in different ways, on different levels, and from varying viewpoints. Problems can lie with the ritualist, with the rite itself, or simply with its relation to the surrounding world, and each of these flaws are relative to the intended goals.[183] In the introduction to a recent volume on ritual failure titled, *When Rituals Go Wrong*, Edward L. Schieffelin also notes that the scholars collected in the volume present different perspectives on ritual failure, with some more outcome-oriented and focused on the failure to produce certain results, and others more oriented towards procedural mistakes.[184] Personally, he prefers to talk about a range of ritual imperfections instead, which would include those "infelicitous rites which do their job acceptably, but don't do it well […], or not without correction or not

181 Edward L. Schieffelin, "Introduction," in *When Rituals Go Wrong : Mistakes, Failure and the Dynamics of Ritual*, ed. Ute Hüsken (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1.

182 Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 199, 205.

183 Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 207-09.

184 Schieffelin, "Introduction," 3. In the concluding remarks of this same volume, Hüsken notes that only in the former case, that of ritual failures rather than mistakes, is a rite's efficacy at stake: Hüsken, *When Rituals Go Wrong*, 363.

to everyone's satisfaction, or not in proper style – but don't actually 'fail'."[185] In fact, he argues that some failures might even be interpreted as conscious attempts to innovate.[186]

To what extent are those involved with our case studies aware of the fact that things might not always go by design? The difference between the drawing board and actual performance is probably most apparent in the newer collective commemorations, like the art project at the cemetery in Velsen. There, the drawing board is taken very seriously, with bi-weekly project group meetings starting in April and becoming weekly from September onwards. During these meetings a plethora of questions cross the table, most seemingly technical but all considered crucial design decisions. This intensifies on the day of the commemoration itself while everything is being set up by the project group, a group of around 40 volunteers, and about a dozen employees of the municipality's green department. Thousands of small decisions have to be made by these teams involving things that were not foreseen, each of which has some kind of impact on how a rite will eventually be presented. At this stage, the artists accompanying the ritual art installations that have been hired are particularly critical of how things are set up: Are the old-fashioned objects on this table positioned in such a way that they will trigger the visitors to pick them up and write down quirky memories for the remembrance wall? Will this type of wood create enough smoke so that when illuminated from below it looks like the names written on the notes that are to be burned are carried upwards? What seemingly inconspicuous questions like these point to is a realization that things might not turn out as planned. This stance towards ritual is probably best described as one of apprehension.

For the cemetery event in Oudewater, also an offshoot of the *Allerzielen Alom* project, albeit an unofficial Catholic one, questions are also central in the design process. A good example of this is one of the rites on offer during the commemorative event: individual grave blessings. With only a handful of visitors making use of this option in 2010 and none using it in 2011, the rite was removed from the evening's repertoire in 2012. The reasons for its failure were interpreted differently by the various people involved. The coordinator of the workgroup in charge of the event questioned whether this element of the night's ritual ensemble really fit local customs. The priest asked himself whether it might have something to do with a layperson performing the blessing rather than an ordained priest. The liturgist, who had originally come up with the event, wondered if there might simply be a visibility issue, suggesting the inclusion of sign put up in a central place where those interested could ring a bell. Similar questions abound regarding the use of flowers in the chapel, the proper placement of the choir, and the inclusion of a new ritual involving stones, which was discussed in more detail in chapter four. It becomes evident that designing a new rite seems to be at least as much about having a plethora of questions as it is about having the answers to these questions. However, it is not just in the newer commemorations

185 Schieffelin, "Introduction," 16-17.
186 Schieffelin, "Introduction," 11-12.

that such questions arise. At the Protestant church in Veenendaal, for example, commemorative church services were started as early as the 1980s, candles have been burned when the names of the deceased are recited since the 1990s, and the chance for all those in attendance to burn tea lights was also added over ten years ago. Yet, questions around the proper way of managing these practices resurface every year: Are the new candles too small? How do we prevent the draft from blowing out the candles? Should we tell people how to line up when they go forward to burn a tea light? Would it look more hospitable if we had two people handing out the tea lights? Can we make the tables where people put the candles look a bit nicer?

When paying attention to questions like these, as well as to the debates in which they get asked, it becomes evident again that the stance these ritualizers take towards their rite is rather apprehensive. What fuels this apprehension, however, is not merely the awareness that things might go wrong. Rather, the apprehension comes also from a fervent desire to do things right and to make the design work, despite the fact that these same ritualizers observed, on numerous occasions, that those attending often did not even notice the mistakes they were so concerned about. This observation hides an interesting *contradictio in terminis*, namely, that, on the one hand, there is a clear sense of apprehension that things might go wrong, denoting the limits of one's design; on the other hand, there is an awareness that things will probably turn out more or less okay in the end anyway. Rites seem to be seen as both inherently fragile yet resilient at the same time. The next section will delve deeper into what is behind this apparent contradiction.

Emergence: A Matter of Performance

In the concepts and cases discussed above, the issue of emergence has been mentioned several times. When talking about ritual, emergence generally refers to unexpected things that might come up during the actual performance of a rite. Rites might be creatively designed but, in the end, they are first and foremost a type of performance. Performances cannot be fully planned, that is to say, they might show features not intended to be part of the performance beforehand. Jens Kreinath tries to conceptualize these unpredictable or contingent outcomes through mathematical models such as chaos theory and fractal dynamics.[187] He does so by explaining how random patterns can emerge during rites through processes of differentiation and dedifferentiation, for example, in the interaction between the participants involved. In response, Handelman argues that Bateson makes more or less the same point when he insists that all interaction generates systemic "noise".[188] These unpredictable outcomes might concern ritual failures but, as Schieffelin observed, there are other types of ritual imperfections as well, and some mistakes

187 Kreinath, "Naven," 57-59.
188 Handelman, "Postlude," 70.

might actually even lead to innovations. Grimes, for example, notes that for a certain category of ritualists, those he dubs ritual diviners, ritualizing is all about paying attention to that which emerges during the performance.[189]

Our case studies give various examples of unplanned things emerging during events. Those in attendance at the Protestant commemorative church service in Veenendaal positioned the tea lights in such a way that they formed shapes. The former priest in charge of the non-ecclesial commemorative meetings at the crematorium in The Hague decided to alter a story he was telling halfway through so as to match the reactions of those present. In other instances, that which emerges can actually be quite challenging to those organizing the event. At the Catholic cemetery event in Oudewater, for example, one of the rites on offer was a miniature Wailing Wall in which small messages could be put. The liturgist who came up with the idea for this small rite intended the depositing of the messages into the wall to be the defining symbolic act. This was not completely understood by the people actually performing this small rite and they kept inquiring about what would happen with the notes afterwards. Eventually, the organizers ended up ritually burning the messages at the end of the evening. This small ceremony is now considered the de facto closing act of the event as a whole.[190] Similarly, after the requiem concert at the Protestant church in Reeuwijk in 2011, the question arose about what should be done with the stones on which people had written the names of the deceased. Several visitors to the concert expressed a desire to take the stones home, an idea the minister who had designed the rite had not considered, in particular because he had intended the rite to be one of laying away. In his eyes, picking the stones up again later would defeat the purpose. Since throwing the stones away was clearly not an option either, in the end, the stones were given a permanent place in the church itself, near the photographs of the recently baptized, serving as a monument for those who have passed.

The tension between design and emergence also became obvious at the non-ecclesial art project at the cemetery in Velsen. It was already described above how serious preparation is taken by the project group, artists, and volunteers there. An important reason for this is precisely their lack of control over the performance of their event; once it is underway, they have little to no influence anymore. Of course, volunteers or artists accompany each of the rites on offer and might be able to offer an explanation here and there, but they are not the ones performing the rites. That role is left almost completely to the visitors. In addition, it is considered taboo to make major adjustments while the event is underway, as such tinkering might very well disrupt the serene atmosphere that has been so conscientiously constructed. So, when the Buddhism-inspired prayer flags hardly get any attention, and the artist seemingly seems unable to connect sufficiently to the visitors, any criticism has to wait until after the event.

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189 Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone*, 13.

190 The burning of the notes with the names being sung at *Allerzielen Alom*-inspired events came about in much the same way.

What we see in the cases at hand is, first of all, that they are rife with instances of emergence. Sometimes the things that emerge are inconsequential noise; in other instances they are the first step to innovation. Second, those involved with organizing the rite seem to be aware of a tension between their designing of the rite and the actual performance of it. This was described earlier as an awareness of a rite's fragility. What we see in these cases is that by offering various choices to the visitors of this event and by handing the actual agency in the performance over to them, those organizing it lose quite a bit of control over the actual performance. Having lost this influence, both preparation and evaluation seem to become all the more important to them. Or, put differently, we could say that their focus on making a rite work, on designing it properly, is, in fact, the result of an awareness that a ritual performance is affected by a wide range of factors, many of which are beyond the control of those designing the rite. Ritualizing, then, requires a leap of faith, not only in that the design will prove effective, but also in that if it does fail, the rite itself might very well still be efficacious. We can now see that what is fragile is not so much the rite itself, but the design behind it. The rite, as a performance, often proves resilient even if the design works out less than perfectly.

Ritual Criticism: The Need for Feedback

As observed above, with ritual design being a fragile endeavor, there is more to it than planning alone; it is also about evaluation. After all, rites are repeated and much can be learned from failure. Hüsken observes that, logically, the designation of ritual failure is preceded by an act of ritual criticism. Rites always deviate from earlier forms. According to her, this is what the concept of ritual dynamics is all about.[191] It is only when such change is judged negatively that it comes to be seen as a failure. It is through such processes of criticism that underlying intentions, expectations, and agendas come to the surface.[192] Grimes, who introduced the concept of ritual criticism, says such criticism is more prolific in both popular and scholarly contexts than is generally acknowledged. Also, among ritualists, criticism is often aimed at the construction of more effective rites.[193] As such, ritual criticism could be seen as an integral part of ritual design.

Criticism certainly is part of the ritualizing processes evident in the case studies being investigated, although the ways in which such criticism takes shape differs between locations. In Reeuwijk, evaluation of their requiem concert and its associated rite of commemoration takes place informally when those involved happen to see each other and share their opinions about how everything went. The commemorative church service at the Protestant church in Veenendaal is evaluated during a biannual meeting of the representatives of the church's various workgroups. The wake workgroup organizing the All Souls' Day service in the

191 We might observe here, that Hüsken seems to be thinking primarily of ritual dynamics at the historical level, rather than that of its social or structural dynamics.

192 Hüsken, *When Rituals Go Wrong*, 338-39.

193 Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 1, 16-19.

Catholic church in Oudewater has something similar. For the non-ecclesial art project at the cemetery in Velsen, the evaluation of that year's event is as structured as the planning is. There is an evaluation meeting of the board, an evaluation meeting of the project group, and a meeting of the two groups together. In addition, all the volunteers are requested to give feedback as well. In each of these cases, discussions can become quite critical, especially given the point made earlier about there being more questions than answers.

When examining our cases more carefully, however, it becomes clear that it is not just negative feedback, i.e., criticism, that plays an integral part in ritualizing. There is a role for positive feedback as well. The non-ecclesial commemorative meetings at the crematorium in The Hague serve as a good example. When the former priest organizing these commemorative meetings was asked whether he thought his attempts at granting people a temporary sense of community had been successful, he immediately cited the positive feedback he had been getting as proof for this being the case. This feedback concerned things people had told him, but also included letters sent to him or the crematorium and even messages on the guestbook page of his website. Similarly, when the priest presiding over the All Souls' Day church service in Oudewater was worried after the 2012 service about whether his use of symbolism had been adequate, one of the wake workgroup members immediately replied that the responses had been positive. In the case of the commemorative event at the Catholic cemetery in this same parish, the coordinator of this project even indicated that if not for the positive feedback they had received in the first year, they might not have continued in the following years.

What these observations indicate is that it is not just negative feedback that gains attention, but positive feedback as well. Ritualizing seems to be an activity that is chronically underdetermined. Preparation A will not automatically lead to experience B, thereby achieving goal C. Instead, trying out A is the result of goal C being achieved pretty well last time, but with some organizers doubting whether experience B was actually really present. At that point, somebody else will come in and say that preparation D will lead to experience B much more reliably, and yet another will question the very importance of goal C, suggesting Z instead. In circumstances like these, being told by several people that the whole thing was meaningful proves to be crucial. Those ritualizing in the case studies analyzed here have shown themselves to be more than capable of criticizing their own practices; what they need instead is confirmation. Positive feedback shows them that what they have designed is worthwhile even if it is not perfect in their eyes and that some things are fine as they are, thereby steering them away from the debilitating pitfalls of hypercriticism.

Repetition: Histories of Change

A final question that arises when discussing ritual design is that of the role of a rite's age. Is ritual design a paradigm that really only deals with the early stages of a new rite's life path or is it an ongoing process? In the literature, issues of age

used to be discussed under the heading "repetition", but these days an interest in a rite's development over time has come to be categorized under the umbrella term "ritual dynamics" instead. The shift in focus is again quite evident here. Even Bell, although describing invariance and traditionalism as essential characteristics of ritual-like activities, is quick to point out that such allusions to a long history of repetition often mask recent invention.[194] Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of the "invention of tradition", referenced by Bell and discussed in detail in chapter three, was a milestone in this regard.[195] It essentially dared scholars to take a glance under a rite's traditionalist hood and see the intricate dynamics of change hidden beneath. Jens Kreinath, in an overview chapter of a volume entitled, *The Dynamics of Changing Rituals*, provides us with an analytical matrix of the dynamics in question.[196] Most importantly, Kreinath distinguishes between the degree of change and the velocity of change. The degree of change between two performances of a certain rite is always somewhere between modification, i.e., minor differences that do not affect the rite's identity, and transformation, i.e., major differences that do affect its identity. The velocity of change is likewise somewhere between two extremes. When only modifications happen over a long period of time Kreinath speaks of continuity, and when transformations take place within a short period of time he speaks of discontinuity.[197] Although a very useful conceptualization of what Kreinath himself describes as the paradox between a rite receiving much of its efficacy from appearing timeless while at the same time constantly being in motion, one issue is not being addressed, namely, whether deliberate change is more rampant in the early stages of a rite's life path than in later stages. A final look at our case studies might help us get an idea of whether or not this seems likely.

For the requiem concert at the Protestant church in Reeuwijk, the specifics of the ritual accompanying it are kept deliberately flexible. The minister described how in his regular commemorative church service the lighting of candles is always repeated as the core ritual act, but in the rite accompanying the concert, he very consciously chose not to repeat the rite with stones, which was described above, in the second year, opting to burn candles that year instead. The underlying reason for keeping things flexible was that all of this was a pilot study for him and he eventually wanted to try a more extensive ritual project, either in the church itself or at the local cemetery. A comparison between this rite and a longer running one, like the Protestant church service in Veenendaal or the Catholic church service for All Souls' Day in Oudewater where the focus is much more on establishing continuity, seems to confirm our earlier hypothesis that the ritual creativity so central to the new paradigm for understanding ritual is predominantly found in the early stages of a rite's life path. The commemorative meetings at the

194 Bell, *Ritual*, 148.

195 Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*.

196 Jens Kreinath, "Theoretical Afterthoughts," in *Dynamics of Changing Rituals* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004). Again, ritual dynamics at the historical level is referred to here, not a rite's social or structural dynamics.

197 Kreinath, "Theoretical Afterthoughts," 267-68.

crematorium in The Hague also seem to support such a conclusion. The pastor behind this project, who had to leave the Catholic Church after he started doing funerals and commemorative meetings for crematoriums in this region, explained that he considered repetition very important; change was possible but not required. Change, of course, does happen in these commemorative meetings too. The Mother's Day commemoration, for example, uses flowers instead of candles, and during the Christmas meeting, messages to the deceased are attached to white balloons, which are released outside. Certain things attempted in the early years were taken out later as they did not work as hoped. Praying the "Our Father", for example, was not something everybody was familiar enough with. However, after an initial period of experimentation and giving shape to something new, the rites here became relatively stable at a certain point, just like the church services in Oudewater and Veenendaal.

Again, however, a closer look reveals that, in fact, more is going on. In the Oudewater church service on All Souls' Day, for example, the symbolism is deliberately kept open so that this element can be experimented with each year. As we saw previously, in 2012 this even affected the core of the rite, where stones were used instead of candles. Similarly, during the commemorative service in the Protestant church in Veenendaal, the liturgical workgroup proved more than willing to have a local potter design ceramic candleholders to replace their normal candles when the need to do so arose. It has to be noted, however, that it is not necessity alone that drives such changes. In an interview with the floor manager of the crematorium in The Hague, she said that most of the change that had happened for their non-ecclesial commemorative meetings was not the result of any perceived ritual flaws or inhibiting circumstances, but because sometimes they, as organizers, just wanted to change something for the sake of variation. On the other hand, some of the newer rites are also not as innovative as one would expect. The event at the Catholic cemetery in Oudewater, for example, has been more or less the same since its inception in 2010. No new rites were added to the repertoire and the changes that did take place were only modifications, in Kreinath's terms. Even in Velsen where innovation is one of the keywords during both the preparation and the evaluation of their non-ecclesial commemorative art project, we saw how there is also much talk of turning this commemorative event into a local tradition, albeit a lively one.

Bringing these findings together we observe that concepts such as ritual design and ritual dynamics, at least at the social and historical level, are valuable tools for discovering the ways in which rites remain forever in motion. This, however, should not mean that repetition, as a structural ritual dynamic, is not worthy of attention as well. In all of the cases studied above, we can see how stability increases over time as rites slowly prove themselves, even if some parts are deliberately left open to innovation. To some degree, this is a matter of the initial design finally being fully realized. Yet, at the same time, some intended elements will probably have fallen by the wayside, while unintended, though valued, elements are likely

to have emerged over time to replace them and maybe even come to be considered essential parts of the local tradition. Plasquy described this process when he explained, very much akin to Fligstein and McAdam, how ruptures generally lead to experimentation and reformulation, which eventually give way to a new ritual equilibrium.[198] In Kreinath's terms, this could also be described as transformations giving way to modifications, and ritual designers becoming ritual caretakers, even if they never fully shed their former feathers. Other factors will be of influence here too, of course. Protocol might be more likely to be established quickly in an ecclesial setting for example. On the other hand, the non-ecclesial commemorative meetings performed at the crematorium in The Hague were subjected to company protocols right from the beginning as well. Even the artist behind the *Allerzielen Alom* project trademarked that name so it could only be used when certain criteria are met.

Concluding Remarks

In the introduction to this chapter, the question was asked: What structural aspects of ritual are in fear of being overlooked when rites are studied from the vantage point of the ritual design paradigm? Exploring a range of various theoretical concepts in relation to a specific set of ethnographic data showed that there is, indeed, more to ritual than its design alone. First, conflating framing too much with ritualizing means the set-apart nature of ritual is easily overlooked. Second, when focusing on verifiable efficacy, like the ritualists themselves tend to do, non-verifiable efficacy is easily lost sight of. Third, paying attention to ritual failures helps show the fragility of ritual design, yet tends to hide the resilience of ritual performance and the importance of emergence. Fourth, and finally, focusing on ongoing innovation and change means the impact of time and repetition is too easily relegated to the sidelines.

In addition to this first question, a second question was implicit throughout this chapter as well, namely: To what degree are those doing the ritualizing themselves affected by the ritual design paradigm? After all, as was indicated in section one, there are strong ties between ritual scholarship and ritual practice in this regard. Going from the cases discussed here, this question has an interesting answer. On the one hand, the major concerns of those at work in the ritual field of collective commemoration squarely fit within the ritual design paradigm. Yet, on the other hand, they see themselves confronted with the other aspects of ritual listed above as well. As a result, positive feedback from the participants is at least as important to them as their own ritual criticism, as it shows the actual ritual experience to be worthwhile despite the inherent fragility and underdetermined nature of their design endeavor. Positive feedback serves as their backdoor to those ritual features otherwise lost among their focus on things such as verifiable efficacy and ritual creativity.

198 Plasquy, "Frames under Pressure," 24.

When looking at the answers to the two questions posed above, a third question arises. If focusing too much on ritual design means that certain pertinent features of ritual might be overlooked, and if ritualists themselves have found a backdoor way of paying attention to such features, then one wonders if it is possible also to revise the ritual design paradigm in such a way that attention is paid to them. In other words: Are the oversights discussed here inherent to the ritual design paradigm? This seems unlikely. In fact, awareness amongst both ritualists and ritual scholars that there is more to a rite than its design alone will likely just serve as further proof that ritual is, in fact, a distinct form of action. As such, paying attention to these features only confirms what Bell saw as the root of this new paradigm, namely, the idea that ritual is a special and central dynamic in human affairs.

This chapter, then, is not so much a critique of the ritual design paradigm but, rather, a plea to revise it so that it includes, rather than neglects, the other ritual features worthy of our attention. In addition, doing precisely that also helped us better understand the effects this paradigm has had on the questions asked and answers given in the first four chapters. Although each of the insights gained in these chapters regarding the emergence of a ritual field of collective commemoration is valuable, it is also important to note that they do not represent the whole picture. Ritual has certain structural dynamics of its own and these cannot but feed into the defining characteristics of an emerging strategic action field aimed at organizing rites. Precisely what the observations made here, and in the previous chapters, say about the emergence of that field, and about the contemporary position of ritual in general, will be discussed in the final considerations that follow.

Final Considerations on Ritual Dynamics in Late Modernity

While this dissertation started with showcasing a single ritual project in the Dutch town of Oudewater, this quickly led to an in-depth discussion of a much wider phenomenon this project can be said to be a part of. Along the way, the ritual category of collective commemorations was defined and the research into it elaborated upon. The developments regarding such rites over the last few decades in the Netherlands were designated to be signs of the emergence of a new ritual field of collective commemoration, while within this field further inquiries were made regarding the way traditions figure into these processes of emergence, regarding the way the challenges of late modernity were dealt with, and regarding the issue of deliberate ritual design. As was indicated in the introduction, although each chapter revolved around its own question, a more fundamental question was implicit in each of these inquiries as well. This question pertained to the position of ritual, and its dynamics, in our current late modern world. As we saw, ritual dynamics can be identified on various levels, and each of the four main chapters asked a question pertaining to one such level. Chapter two dealt with social dynamics on a macro-scale, chapter three with the dynamics of history, chapter four with social dynamics on a micro-scale, while chapter five, finally, dealt with structural ritual dynamics. What was not done in these chapters was discuss the ways in which the answers to the questions asked in these chapters might shine a new light upon ritual dynamics in a more general sense. That task will be taken up here, leading to the claim that whereas ritual has adapted to the fluidity of late modernity on the level of social and historical dynamics, its structural dynamics are instead relied upon to challenge that same fluidity.

Of course, extrapolating from a single case study, or in this case a range of case studies, always brings with it certain risks. After all, investigations were limited to the Netherlands, while other countries, especially those outside of Western Europe, will likely show different conditions. Similarly, the research conducted pertained to rites of collective commemorations, while other types of ritual practices might very well be affected by late modernity in divergent ways. Finally, there is a limitation in that this research project concerned ongoing developments, thereby emphasizing instability. That being said, however, it is, at the same time, crucial to keep reflecting upon these more general theoretical issues, in this case the position of ritual and ritual dynamics in late modernity, and to do so on the basis of actual data, as it helps with keeping such theorizing grounded. Here, this will be attempted through having a closer look at what the findings of each of the four main chapters mean in light of this bigger picture.

To begin with, in chapter two, use was made of Fligstein and McAdam's theory of fields to argue that the phenomenon being studied here could be qualified as the emergence of a strategic action field geared towards collective commemoration. In other words, that it could be described as an emerging ritual field. The emergence of this ritual field was evidently made possible by the religious crisis of the 1960s, which opened up an arena for innovation in which the idea of organizing collective commemorations was opened up to a wider range of social actors. Next, within this arena, these social actors started to become more oriented towards each other, and have also begun to share more and more ways in which this arena is understood. In terms of ritual dynamics, all of these developments are very interesting. They show us how, on the macro-level, societal upheaval might first seem to lead to decline, but instead turns out to function as a springboard for renewal instead. This, of course, is a well-known feature of culture in general and as such is not that surprising. What is somewhat more surprising, however, is that it seems that within the new constellation that has emerged, things still have not fully stabilized themselves yet, and show signs that they might not even do so at all. This, of course, has interesting implications for understanding late modern ritual dynamics in general, something which becomes even clearer when taking the findings made in the other three chapters into account as well.

Chapter three dealt with understanding the role of tradition in the emergence of the ritual field of collective commemoration. In particular, it was argued that labeling the emergence of this field as simply being a matter of bricolage or ritual invention was not doing justice to the reality of the situation. Instead, it was argued that the way tradition figured into the emergence of this field could best be described as "innovating with traditions". This is to say that we are dealing with a fluid network of emerging, renewing, and interconnected local traditions which are the result of people innovating by selectively taking elements from various previous traditions. Traditions, in other words, are both made use of and aimed for. In terms of ritual dynamics this implies that tradition itself has been swooped up in the dynamics affecting ritual. Rather than traditions serving as guidelines for how ritual should be developed, an attitude which sociologist Edward Shils[199] dubbed "substantive traditionality", traditions have become resources for creatively developing them. Rites are no longer part of a tradition; instead traditions are employed in ritualizing. In late modernity, tradition itself has seemingly become much more "dynamized". One should be careful with implying a clear direction of causation in this regard, however. That the dynamics of ritual caused tradition to be regarded differently is just as good a reading of the situation as claiming that the opening up of tradition is what allowed ritual to become more dynamic in the first place. It is good to keep in mind, though, that in practice these two processes are not mutually exclusive, of course, but instead feed upon one another. As such, taken together they clearly show the direction in which the general shape of ritual traditions are headed, and it is a highly dynamic one.

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199 Edward Shils, *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 21.

What such dynamics look like on the level of the actual agents involved, and the decisions they make, was addressed in chapter four. There, in line with what we saw in the two preceding chapters, the challenges of dealing with ritual under a new set of circumstances, i.e., those of late modernity, are brought to the foreground. In doing so, it is shown how dealing with such challenges and opportunities has led to a new form of ritualizing, one which is liquid in contrast with the more rooted forms of ritualizing which informed earlier All Souls' Day practices. Liquid ritualizing, in this regard, entails an openness toward both ritual transfer and toward networking, trends which were already spotted in the previous chapters as well. At the same time, however, maintaining local identities and constructing local traditions is also deemed very important. When talking about ritual dynamics, it is particularly interesting to see that liquid ritualizing implies a highly ambivalent stance towards instability. On the one hand, such instability is challenged when wanting to construct and maintain local traditions and identities. On the other hand, the liquidity of late modern society is made good use of in the methods employed to achieve these goals. Both ritual transfer, i.e., innovating with traditions, and networking rely on such liquidity. The result is a sort of dynamic balancing act between innovation and repetition within which the former comes easiest in late modern times, thereby turning the latter into something that has to be worked for in order to achieve it.

Turning, finally, to the level of structural dynamics, chapter five dealt with the ritual design paradigm. Here it was argued that focusing on this particular aspect of how ritual practices come to pass, i.e., the ways in which they are purposefully designed to fulfill a particular function, runs the danger of ignoring certain other fundamental aspects of rites. To wit, these are the set apart nature of ritual which is the result of framing, the role of non-verifiable efficacy, the resilience of ritual performance, the importance of emergence, and the impact of time and repetition. Interestingly, it was also shown that the ritualists involved seem to be more aware of such features than ritual scholars generally appear to be, a fact that might be credited to their desire to make use of such structural ritual dynamics in order to achieve certain goals in a setting in which such things generally do not tend to last. When approaching such findings from the perspective of ritual dynamics in general, it now becomes clear why it is important to study such dynamics at all its levels. Ritual is not only dynamic in the sense that it changes over time through the actions of various agents and in response to various social changes, but also in that its structural dynamics make it transformative in its own right.

When bringing together the insights described above, an interesting image emerges in regards to the position of ritual in late modernity. First of all, we see that the religious crisis that marks the beginning of this phase in modernity served as a sort of spring board for the various developments that were identified. Secondly, within the new situation that subsequently emerged, the fluidity of society at large seems to have been very much embraced in how traditions have become resources rather than guidelines, in how ritualizing is given shape in order to deal with contemporary challenges and opportunities, and in how the social relationships underpinning these processes are given form. In this regard, ritual

today could almost be said to be hyperdynamic. Thirdly, however, contemporary ritual is also dynamic in another sense. This is evident in how traditions are not only made use of selectively but are also aimed for, as well as in how the structural dynamics of the rites themselves are relied upon to achieve such goals. In other words, while ritual has, in response to the fluidity of late modernity, become much more dynamic on the social and historical level, its own structural dynamics provide those involved with a way to challenge that very fluidity as well. Ritual, in other words, has shown itself to be capable of adapting to its late modern context, but at the same time engages that context as well, and as such helps shape it.

The final claim made above is relevant not only because of what it might tell us about the role of ritual in late modernity, but also because it might help us understand how other aspects of religion have been affected by, or are affecting, late modernity as well. What about religious texts, for example: has their usage developed in similar ways? And what about religious material culture, or religious ethics: have their social and historical dynamics become more fluid as well? And do their structural dynamics challenge that fluidity in the same way as seems to be the case for ritual practices? Or, casting the net even wider, what about other aspects of social and cultural life? How is theatre affected? Or family life? None of these questions can be answered on the basis of the data discussed here, of course, but at the very least, the claims made here regarding ritual dynamics can be used as a spring board to tackle such questions in other domains as well. At the same time, keeping a close eye on how the ritual field of collective commemoration itself develops further is important too, as new data will surely bring forth new insights and new ways of understanding ritual dynamics in late modernity.

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Appendix 1

Database

Codes/abbreviations for 'Time of Year' column:

SU	Sunday closest to 2 November
LS	Last Sunday of the liturgical year

Codes/abbreviations for 'Description' column:

'…'	Official Dutch name of the event
'01:	Element added/changed in or since 2001
comm.	Abbreviation of commemorative
sep.	Abbreviation of separate
AS	All Souls' Day service/mass, includes TE, MU and RN
BC	Burning candles to accompany RN
IC	Illuminated cemetery (with natural and/or artificial lights)
CC	Commemorative concert
CM	Commemorative meeting
ES	Eternity Sunday service, incl. TE, MU and RN unless mentioned
GB	Graves are blessed
LP	Last Post is played
LF	Liturgical flower piece used in service
MC	Memorial cross is given to the bereaved
MU	Music is played/performed (includes singing)
NY	New Year's Eve service
TL	Opportunity given to burn tea lights to commemorate the dead
GL	Opportunity given to place grave lights on graves
PF	Placing flower(s) to accompany RN or on a grave
RN	Reciting the names of those who died the past year
RC	Requiem concert
RW	Ritual walk along commemorative 'hotspots', in the evening unless specified
TE	Texts are read aloud, such a bible texts, poetry or stories
WS	(White) stones used during RN, generally containing name of the deceased
WN	Writing the names of the dead in a book, on cards or on an art installation

Codes/abbreviations for 'Organization' column:

AA	'Allerzielen Alom'
Cath.	Catholic
ac	Art collective
af	Art/cultural foundation
df	Foundation dedicated to this particular event
fc	Funeral company
fi	Funeral insurance company
he	Care home for the elderly
rg	Ritual guide (develops custom rites)

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
C02	Groningen	2-nov	2010-2012	'Allerzielen Nieuwe Stijl': multicultural CM with TE and MU	Cath. Dalton school Bisschop Bekkers	b-bekkers.nl
C03	Leimuiden	2-nov	2010-2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	St. Jan de Doper church	claraenfranciscusfederatie.nl
C04	Oudewater	2-nov	2010-2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	Saint Francis church	rkkoudewater.nl
C05	Geldrop	SU	2000-2012	Individual GB (added to AS mass on 2-11 itself)	Heilige Brigida parish	brigida.nl
C06	Utrecht	SU	2010-2012	'Lichtwandeling': IC w. GL (added to ASD on 2-11)	Cath. cemetery Sint Barbara	begraafplaats-sintbarbara.nl
C07	Oosteind	2-nov	2001-2012	AS w. IC, children craft comm. objects to be put on graves	St. Johannes de Doper parish	verrijzenis-parochie.nl
C08	Ankeveen	2-nov	2009-2012	Individual GB (no mass)	Heilige Martinus parish	kerkemeren.nl
C09	Schalkhaar	2-Nov or SU	1985-2012	Evening procession and GB in cemetery (added to existing AS)	Heilige Nicolaas parish	heiligelebuinus.nl
C10	Dorst	2-nov	2004-2012	AS w. IC	Heilige Marcoen parish	catharina-parochie.nl
C11	Etten-Leur	2-nov	2011-2012	AS w. IC	Heilige Maria parish	hmaria.nl
C13	Amsterdam	Oct or Nov	2010-2012	10: GB & RW, '11: IC, '12: small scale daytime RW	Cath. cemetery Buitenveldert & AA Foundation	begraafplaats-buitenveldert.nl
C14	Leeuwarden	Nov	Early 1990s-2014	AS preceded by GB	Cath. cemetery De Vitushof	titusbrandsmaparochie.nl
C15	Boxmeer	April and Oct	Late 1990s-2011	Service to commemorate patients (2 in 1 day)	Maas hospital	pantein.nl
C16	Rotterdam	Dec	2007-2011	'Kerstlichtjesavond': RW in cemetery	Cath. cemetery St. Laurentius	begraafplaatslaurentius.nl
C18	Amsterdam	2-nov	2005-2012	AS in chapel w. choir (Fauré's requiem)	Zorgvlied cemetery	zorgvliedonline.nl
C19	Arnhem	2-nov	1970s-2012	AS in Cath. auditorium, '12: GB added	Arnhem deanery & Moscowa cemetery	moscowa.nl
C20	Venlo	2-nov	2004-2012	'Nacht der Zielen': open CM w. TE, MU, dance and art	LINT association	nachtderzielen.nl
C21	Roermond	2-nov	2005-2008, 2010	'Nacht der Zielen': open CM w. TE, MU, dance and art	LINT association	nachtderzielen.nl
C22	Wittem	2-nov	2006-2012	'Nacht der Zielen': open CM w. TE, MU, dance and art	LINT association	nachtderzielen.nl
C23	Zenderen	2-nov	2010-2011	'Nacht der Zielen': open CM w. TE, MU, dance and art	LINT association	nachtderzielen.nl
C24	Rosmalen	SU	2000-2012	AS in cemetery w. GB	Birgitta parish	mariajohannes.nl
C25	Jabeek	2-nov	1995-2012	AS w. TL and GB	Heilige Gertrudis parish	megatron.nl/gertrudis
C26	Den Bosch	4/year	2006-2012	AS + 4 sep. comm. services; '12: 4 comm. Sunday services (incl. AS)	Emmaus parish	members.home.nl/emmaus-parochie
C27	Prinsenbeek	2-nov	1997-2012	AS revolving around changing symbolic theme	Maria ten Hemelopneming parish	parochieprinsenbeek.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
C28	De Moer	SU	Early 1990s-2012	AS in church and in cemetery w. GB, LP and local fanfare-band	St. Joachim parish	parochiewillibrord.nl
C29	Wehl	2-nov	1995-2008	Two sep. AS (one for RN, one for dead in general), '09: back to 1 AS	St. Martinus parish	parochie-wehl.nl
C30	Losser	2-nov	Early 1990s-2013	AS w. GB, '08: name of deceased written on candle	Maria Vlucht parish	mariavlucht.nl
C31	Oud-Zevenaar	2-nov	1989-2012	AS w. GB	St. Martinus parish	sint-willibrordusparochie.nl
C32	Roermond	SU	1978-2012	Episcopal chapel/crypt open for public commemoration	Diocese of Roermond	bisdom-roermond.nl
C33	Den Bosch	2-nov	1986-2012	AS mass w. blessing of episcopal crypt	Diocese of Den Bosch	bisdomdenbosch.nl
C34	Amsterdam	2-nov	2006-2012	6-9 (sung) requiem masses (Tridentine Rite)	St. Agnes church	agneskerk.org
C35	Zwijndrecht	1-nov	1992-2010	Choir sings All Souls' Day Vespers, w. RN	Schola Cantorum Dordrecht	gregoriaansdordt.com
C36	Amsterdam	1-nov	1978-2012	Choir sings All Souls' Day Matins	Schola Cantorum Amsterdam	gregoriaanskoor.nl
C38	Utrecht	2-nov	2004-2012	CM in auditorium w. TL, poems and MU	St. Bonifatius college	boni.nl
C39	Delft	2-nov	1995-2012	CM in auditorium w. TL and WN	Stanisas college	stanislascollege.nl
C42	Zevenaar	2-nov	1995-2012	AS w. PF for bereaved and TL next to the Mary statue	Heilige Andreas parish	sint-willibrordusparochie.nl
C43	Voerendaal	2-nov	2009-2012	AS w. IC	Laurentius parish & Uitvaartv. Voerendaal (fc)	parochie-kunrade.nl
C44	Heiloo	May	2009-2010, 2012	'Monument van Troost': pilgrimage w. special comm. focus	O.L.V. Ter Nood shrine	onzelievevrouwternood.nl
C45	Noord-Scharwoude	Once/month	2003-2012	'Monumenten van Troost': open comm. prayer service	St. Jan de Doper parish	sintjandedoper.nl
C47	De Zilk	Once/month	1991-2012	'Rafaëlviering': open comm. prayer service	Willibrordus parish	willibrordusbollenstreek.nl
C48	Noordwijkerhout	Once/month	2007-2010	'Rafaëlviering': open comm. prayer service	NWH parishes	parochiesnwh.nl
C51	Voorhout	4/year	2010-2011	'Raphael Bijeenkomst': open comm. prayer service	Bartholomeus parish	rkvoorhout.nl
C52	Reeuwijk	2-nov	2005-2011	AS w. IC	De Goede Herder community	dghr.eu
C53	Bodegraven	2-nov	2001-2012	AS w. IC	St. Willibrordus community	parochiebodegraven.nl
C54	Stadskanaal	2-Nov and SU	2008-2012	2-11: AS for all congregations, Sunday: RN in sep. congregations	Kanaalstreek parishes	tinyurl.com/kanaalstreek

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
C55	Leiden	2-nov	1980s-2010	Morning AS w. GB	Cath. cemetery Zijlpoort	stjosephleiden.nl
C56	Overloon	SU	1965-2012	AS in church and in cemetery (w. GB)	Theobaldus parish	theobaldusparochie.nl
C59	Eindhoven	2-nov	2000-2012	Short AS in cemetery, w. individual GB	St. Petrus church	petrus-ehv.nl
C60	Eindhoven	2-nov	2003-2012	Short AS in cemetery, w. individual GB	O.L.V. van Lourdes church	petrus-ehv.nl
C61	Eindhoven	2-nov	2000-2012	Short AS in cemetery, w. individual GB	Cath. cemetery St. Paulus	petrus-ehv.nl
C62	Eindhoven	2-nov	2001-2012	Evening AS in cemetery w. IC and LP	Strijp parish	parochie-strijp.nl
C63	Eindhoven	2-nov	2000-2012	Evening AS w. IC and GC	Binnenstad parish	binnenstadsparochie.nl
C64	Eindhoven	2-nov	1990s-2012	AS in cemetery w. PF on graves	Gestel parish	petrus-ehv.nl
C65	Coevorden	2-nov	2002-2012	Evening AS in cemetery w. GB	Cath. cemetery De Loo	immanuelparochie.nl
C66	Blaricum	2-nov	1983-2012	AS w. cemetery procession and GB	St. Vitus church	vitusblaricum.nl
C68	Hengevelde	2-nov	1996-2012	AS w. cemetery procession and GB	Heilige Geest parish	heiligegeestparochie.nl
C69	Eygelshoven	SU	1990s-2012	AS w. GB	Heilige Johannes de Doper church	anselbode.com
C70	Maastricht	1-Nov or 2-Nov	1995-2011, 2012	Morning AS w. GB, '12: evening AS w. procession, GB and IC	St. Pieter parish	parochiesintpieter.nl
C71	Bedum	1-nov	2000-2012	AS and All Souls' Day combined into one service, w. GB	Maria ten Hemelopneming parish	mariatenhemelopnemingbedum.nl
C74	Vlodrop	SU	1990s-2012	AS, on 2-11: sep. prayer service w. choir	St. Martinus parish	parochiestmartinusvlodrop.nl
C76	Maliskamp	SU	2000-2012	AS in cemetery w. GB	Pastoral unit H. Maria en H. Johannes	parochieheiligemaria.nl
C77	Halfweg	2-nov	2010-2012	AS w. IC and GL	O.L.V. Geboorte Halfweg parish	parochiehalfweg.nl
C81	The Hague	2-nov	2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	Cath. cemetery Sint Petrus	paxrkb.nl
C82	The Hague	2-nov	2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	Cath. cemetery Sint Barbara	paxrkb.nl
C83	Zoeterwoude	2-nov	2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	St. Jan church	kerkvanzoeterwoude.nl
C84	Warmond	2-nov	2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	St. Matthias church	parochiesintmaarten.nl
C85	Ridderkerk	2-nov	2012	'Allerzielen in ' t Licht': RW in cemetery	St. Joris parish	sintjorisparochie.nl
C86	Hooglanderveen	2-nov	2005-2012	AS evening service w. GB and LP	St. Joseph church	katholiekamersfoort.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
P01	Oost Souburg	LS	2005-2012	ES w. cemetery visit, BC and LF	Prot. congr. Oost Souburg	pgos.nl
P02	Uden	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. RN from special scroll, BC	SOW-kerk (church)	sowkerk-uv.nl
P03	Goutum	Easter	2001-2012	Easter Vigil service w. cemetery visit (w. comm. elements), also ES	Prot. congr. Goutum	agneskerkgoutum.nl
P04	Nijkerk	Easter	2009-2011	Easter service in cemetery (w. comm. elements), also ES	Reformed church Nijkerk	gk-nijkerk.nl
P05	Landsmeer	LS	Late 1990s-2012	ES, '05: LF and BC added	Prot. congr. Landsmeer	pglandsmeer.nl
P06	Oudega	LS	2003-2012	WS/roses added to ES, made by children	Prot. congr. Oudega	oudegaw.protestantsekerk.net
P07	Hendrik Ido-Ambacht	LS	1988-2012	ES w. RN, '00: LF, w. BC and roses, before: NY	De Open Hof (church)	deopenhof-hia.nl
P08	Zierikzee	LS	1998-2012	ES, '02: LS w. BC added, before: NY	Thomaskerk (church)	gereformeerdzierikzee.nl
P09	Veenendaal	LS	1985-2012	ES w. BC, '94: LF, '02: TL	De Goede Reede (church)	pkn-veenendaal.nl
P11	Dordrecht	1-nov	2011-2012	Comm. Vespers service w. BC	Evangelical-Lutheran congr. Dordrecht	luthersdordrecht.nl
P12	Zwolle	SU	1998-2003	Comm. service w. RN and BC, '04: moved back to ES	Oosterkerk (church)	oosterkerk.nl
P15	Borne	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. burning candles for everybody	Prot. congr. Borne	protestantsegemeenteborne.nl
P16	Boksum	LS	1994-2012	ES w. BC (one extra to commemorate dead in general)	Prot. congr. Boksum-Blessum-Deinum	terpoarte.nl
P17	Meliskerke	LS	2007-2012	WS added to ES, children place the stones	PKN congr. Biggekerke/Meliskerke	home.hccnet.nl/pverhage.1/sow
P19	Vorden	LS	2000-2012	ES w. BC	Prot. congr. Vorden	protestantsegemeentevorden.nl
P20	The Hague	LS	2001-2012	ES w. just RN	Prot. congr. Ypenburg	kerkopypenburg.nl
P21	Zuidland	LS	1990s-2012	Evening ES w. LF and BC (+ one for dead in general), '04: morning ES	Prot. congr. Zuidland	kerkeninzuidland.nl
P23	Hilversum	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. BC, '02: LF and roses, '03: WS in LF	Morgenster (church)	morgenster.info
P24	Schoonebeek	LS	2006-2012	LS w. BC added, '10: roses given to bereaved, before: NY	PKN congr. Schoonebeek	pkn-schoonebeek.nl
P25	Hoogeveen	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. BC, before: on NY	Prot. congr. De Weide	pkndeweide.nl
P26	Assen	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. BC, later addition: TL	Prot. congr. Assen-Noord	opstandingskerk-assen.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
P27	Leek	LS	2007-2012	LF added to ES, '09: MC added	Prot. congr. Leek-Oldebert	pglo.nl
P29	Zaltbommel	LS	1995-2012	ES w. BC, before NY w. just RN	PKN congr. Het Anker	pkn-hetanker.nl
P31	Haarlem	LS	1995-2012	ES w. BC, before: nothing	Evangelical-Lutheran congr. Haarlem	luthersekerkhaarlem.nl
P32	Oudenbosch	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. only RN, '03: LF and BC added	Prot. congr. Oudenbosch	pkn-oudenbosch.nl
P33	Oldeholtpade	LS	2005-2012	ES w. BC and TL, before: nothing	Prot. congr. Oldeholtpade	pkn-tono.nl
P35	Ridderkerk	LS	1961-2012	ES w. just RN	Goede Herder (church)	ghk-ridderkerk.nl
P36	s-Gravendeel	LS	Late 1980s-2012	ES, later addition: BC	Reformed congr. 's-Gravendeel	hervormdsgravendeel.nl
P37	Middelharnis	LS	1997-2012	ES w. LF, TL and roses, before: NY w. just RN	Emmaüskerk (church)	emmauskerkmiddelharnis.nl
P38	Surhuisterveen	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. BC, LF and roses	Prot. congr. Surhuisterveen-Boelelaan	pkn-surhuisterveen-boelenslaan.nl
P39	Tytsjerk	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. LF, BC (one extra for dead in general), '04: WS	Prot. congr. Tytsjerk	kerktytsjerk.nl
P41	Zuidlaren	LS	1997-2012	ES w. BC and LF, before: nothing	Prot. congr. Anloo-Zuidlaren	pknanloozuidlaren.nl
P42	Veenendaal	LS	1990s-2012	ES w. just RN	Westerkerk (church)	hervormd-veenendaal.nl
P43	Vaassen	LS	2000-2012	ES w. LF and sometimes BC, '11: candles in form of Alpha et Omega	Reformed congr. Vaassen	website.hervormdvaassen.nl
P44	Delft	SU	1998(±)-2012	Comm. service w. BC and LF, before: ES, before that: NY	Prot. congr. Immanuël	tinyurl.com/immanueldelft
P45	Edam	LS	2001-2012	ES w. BC and children's craft project, later addition: LF	Prot. congr. Edam-Volendam	kerkgemeente.nl
P46	Utrecht	LS	1991-2012	NY w. BC, '93: ES w. MC, '98: LF and BC added	Tuindorpkerk (church)	tuindorpkerk.nl
P48	The Hague	LS	1997-2012	ES w. LF and BC, 99: TL added, '09: WS added	Bosbeskapel (church)	bosbeskapel.nl
P49	Appingedam	SU	2003-2012	LF and BC added to service, '08: WS added, before: ES w. only RN	Prot. congr. Appingedam	pg-appingedam.nl
P50	Schoonhoven	LS	1991-2012	ES w. BC, before: NY w. just RN	Prot. congr. Schoonhoven	hervormdegemeenteschoonhoven.nl
P51	Spijk	LS	2002-2012	ES w. BC, before NY w. just RN	Prot. congr. Spijk-Losdorp	pkn-spijklosdorp.nl
P52	Katwijk a/d Rijn	LS	1999-2012	ES w. LF and BC '00: TL, before: NY w. only RN)	Open Hof Kerk (church)	openhofkerkkatwijk.nl
P53	Veenendaal	31-dec	2004-2012	NY w. just RN	Juliana kerk (church)	julianakerk.herveen.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
P54	Veenendaal	31-dec	2007-2012	NY w. just RN, before: ES w. just RN	Oude Kerk (church)	oudekerk.herveen.nl
P55	Veenendaal	31-dec	1990s-2012	NY w. just RN	Vredeskerk (church)	hervormd-veenendaal.nl
P56	Veenendaal	31-dec	1990s-2012	NY w. just RN and standing prayer	Sionskerk (church)	hervormd-veenendaal.nl
P57	Veenendaal	31-dec	1990s-2012	NY w. just RN and psalm, before: names only in periodical	Hoeksteen kerk (church)	hervormd-veenendaal.nl
P58	Eerbeek	LS	2011-2012	MC added to ES	Prot. congr. Eerbeek	pkneerbeek.nl
P59	Harkstede	LS	2005-2012	LF added to ES, '09: MC added	PKN congr. Scharmer-Harkstede	pknharkstede.groningen.org
P60	Nunspeet	LS	1995-2012	ES w. LF and BC or WS, sep comm. service for youth in evening	Prot. congr. Nunspeet	driestwegkerk.nl
P61	Voorburg	LS	2003-2012	BC and roses added to ES, '06: LF added	Opstandingskerk (church)	opstandingskerkvoorburg.nl
P62	Barneveld	LS	2006-2012	WS added to ES	PKN congr. Barneveld	pknbarneveld.nl
P64	Amerongen	LS	2006-2012	LF added and moved to ES, '11: WS added, before: service on SU	De Ark (church)	pknamerongen.protestantsekerk.net
P65	Ten Boer	LS	2006-2012	ES w. BC, TL and WS, before: NY w. just RN	PKN congr. Ten Boer	pkntenboer.nl
P66	Hoofddorp	LS	2005-2012	WS added to ES, one extra to represent dead in general	Prot. congr. Hoofddorp	pghoofddorp.nl
P67	Giethoorn	LS	2006-2012	ES w. LF, BC and WS	Prot. congr. Giethoorn	giethoorn.protestantsekerk.net
P68	Nijeveen	Easter	2005-2012	Easter service in cemetery w. PF, also ES	Reformed congr. Nijeveen	hervormdegemeentenijeveen.nl
P69	Goes	LS	2001-2012	BC added to ES (1 candle for every 2 months +1 for dead in general)	Oosterkerk (church)	protestantsgoes.nl
P71	Goes	LS	2000-2012	ES w. LF, TL and roses for bereaved, before: NY w. just RN)	Grote Kerk (church)	protestantsgoes.nl
P72	Goes	LS	2000-2012	ES w. BC and TL	De Hoogte (church)	protestantsgoes.nl
P74	Reeuwijk	SU	2011-2012	Comm. service w. BC; sep. RC w. BC or WS	Prot. congr. De Ark	pgdeark.nl
P76	Amsterdam	2-nov	2011-2012	Open church, w. RN, TL, CC and a 'souls' bar'	Oude Lutherse Kerk (church)	luthersamsterdam.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N001	Amsterdam	Oct	2005-2009, 2012	'Allerzielen Allicht', 06: 'Herinnering Verlicht': RW in funeral park	AA Foundation & De Nieuwe Ooster cemetery	denieuweooster.nl
N002	Apeldoorn	Oct or Nov	2008-2013	'Licht op Herinnering': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & St. Licht op Herinnering (df)	lichtopherinnering.nl
N003	Assen	Oct	2009-2012	'Alom Gedenken': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	alomgedenken-assen.nl
N004	Bergen op Zoom	Oct	2009, 2011-2012	'Allerzielen Alom', '2011: 'Uitgelicht': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation, & local partners	allerzielenalom.nl
N005	Biezenmortel	Oct	2009-2011	'Allerzielen.nu': RW in the park of a care home, '12: CM	AA Foundation & Schatten van Brabant (af)	allerzielen.nu
N006	Blaricum	Nov	2007, 2009-2012	'Allerzielen Alom': RW in cemetery, '09: IC	AA Foundation & personal initiative	allerzielenalom.nl
N007	Castricum	Nov	2007-2012	'Allerzielen Castricum': RW in cemetery (in '07: also in dunes)	Local workgroup	n/a
N008	Edam	Oct	2009	'Allerzielen Alom': RW in cemetery and in church	AA Foundation & local workgroup	allerzielenalom.nl
N009	Graft/De Rijp	Oct	2009	'Allerzielen Alom': RW in cemetery and in church	AA Foundation & local workgroup	marianvanderveen.nl
N010	Groningen	Oct or Nov	2008-2009, '11-'12	'Allerzielen Alom', '09: Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	AA Foundation & Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N011	Leeuwarden	Oct	2008-2009	'Allerzielen Alom': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	n/a
N012	Leiden	Nov	2009-2010	'Allerzielen Leiden': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	www,mariandevalk.nl
N013	Oostzaan	Nov	2008-2012	'Allerzielen Oostzaan': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	n/a
N014	Velsen	Oct or Nov	2009-2012	'Allerzielen Alom', '10: Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht (df)	allerzielenvelsen.nl
N015	Schagen	Oct	2007-2011	'Allerzielen Alom', '09: Allerzielen Herdacht": RW in funeral park	AA Foundation & Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N016	Son en Breugel	Oct	2009	'Ons Kloppend Hart': RW on town square (daytime)	Local workgroup	spirance.nl
N017	Vlaardingen	Oct or Nov	2009-2012	'Allerzielen Alom', '10: 'Vormen van Herinneren': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & St. Flagen (af)	flagen.nl
N018	Winschoten	Oct or Nov	2008-2013	'Allerzielen Winschoten': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	weerspiegeling.net
N019	Amsterdam	Oct	2007	'Allerzielen Alom': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & Zorgvlied cemetery	allerzielenalom.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N020	Purmerend	Oct or Nov	2007, 2009-2012	'Allergedachtenisavond': IC w. GL	Local workgroup	marianvanderveen.nl
N021	Alphen a/d Rijn	Nov	2008-2012	'Lichtjes in het Donker': RW in cemetery	Kairos Rituelen (rg)	lichtjesinhetdonker.nl
N022	Roosendaal	Oct	2010, 2012	'Allerzielen.nu': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & Schatten van Brabant (af)	allerzielen.nu
N023	Breda	Oct	2010	'Allerzielen.nu': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & Schatten van Brabant (af)	allerzielen.nu
N024	Bergen	Oct	2010-2012	'Kunst voor-bij de dood': RW in cemetery during the day	Local workgroup	charonuitvaartbegeleiding.nl
N025	Amsterdam	Nov	2010	'Dag van de Doden': RW in squatted church, w. Mexican altar	AA Foundation & Illuseum (art collective)	laquintaessentia.wordpress.com
N026	Baarn	Nov	2010-2012	'Namen noemen': RW in park of a care home	Amerpoort (care home)	namen-noemen.nl
N027	Heerenveen	Oct	2010-2012	Even years: RW in funeral park, odd years: CM w. BC and TL	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N028	Schiedam	Several/year	2009-2012	CM w. RN and BC or PF, '11: 'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N029	Bierum	Nov	2010-2012	'Allerzielen Bierum': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	n/a
N030	Goutum	Nov	2011-2012	'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N031	Monnickendam	July and 2-Nov	2005-2012	'Allerzielentocht': medieval procession visiting homes of bereaved	Middeleeuws Genootschap Monnickendam (af)	middeleeuwsmonnickendam.nl
N032	Utrecht	Nov	2009-2012	'Herdenkingsvuur': CM in park w. comm. bonfire	weceremonie (spiritual counselor)	weceremonie.nl
N033	St. Odiliënberg	Dec	2006-2012	'Kerstoverdenking': IC w. GL and MU	Natuurbegraafplaats Bergerbos (cemetery)	natuurbegraafplaats.nl/bergerbos
N034	Driehuis	June	1994-2013	'Concerto in Memorian': CC in cemetery (afternoon)	Facultatieve Groep (fi)	bc-westerveld.nl
N035	Almere Haven	Oct	2005-2012	'Nacht van de Ziel': RW in cemetery	Dood en Levens Kunst (af)	maryfontaine.nl
N036	Haren	Sept	2005-2012	Park for scattering ashes open for comm. purposes	Six local funeral companies	n/a
N037	Rotterdam	Oct	2006-2012	CM w. TL, TE and MU	Van der Spek Uitvaart (fc)	vanderspekuitvaart.nl
N038	Almelo	Dec	2007-2011	CM in cemetery w. GL, TE and MU	Municipality of Almelo	n/a
N039	Bergen op Zoom	June	2009	CM in funeral park (afternoon) w. TE and MU	Crematorium Zoomstede	zoomenzegestede.nl
N040	Roermond	Dec	2010-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL	DELA (fi) & Tussen de Bergen (cemetery)	dela.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N041	t Harde	Nov	2007	CM in cemetery auditorium	Local workgroup	n/a
N042	All DELA branches	2/year	2005-2012	CM w. RN, BC or PF, TE and MU	DELA (fi)	dela.nl
N043	Tilburg	Nov	2009-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL	DELA (fi) & local catholic cemetery	dela.nl
N044	Bergeijk	Feb	2010	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL (people attending nearby AS join later)	DELA (fi) & Sint Petrus parish	dela.nl
N045	Goirle	Nov	2009-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL or PF	DELA (fi) & local cemetery association	dela.nl
N046	Oosterhout	Dec	2005-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL	DELA (fi) & local cemetery association	dela.nl
N047	Beilen	Dec	2007-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL, TL and WN	Begrafenisvereniging Beilen (funeral home)	uitvaartcentrumbeilen.nl
N048	Westerbork	Dec	2009-2012	Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL, TL and WN	Belangenv. dorp Westerbork (town committee)	n/a
N049	Hulst	Dec	2009-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL	DELA (fi) & Uitvaartcentrum Hulst (fc)	dela.nl
N050	Varsseveld	Dec	2009-2012	'Herinnering Verlicht': CM on IC w. GL, TE and MU	Varsseveldbelang (town committee)	herinnering-verlicht.nl
N051	Utrecht	Varies	2010-2013	'Utrechtse Troostdag': CM in cemetery (afternoon) w. WN and MU	Après la Vie (fc)	apreslavie.nl
N052	Heiloo	Nov	2007-2011	'Troostdag voor de nabestaanden': CM in church w. TE and MU	CHARON uitvaartbegeleiding (fc)	troostdag.nl
N053	Zwolle	Nov	2010-2012	'Herdenken Belicht': IC w. GL and MU	Municipality of Zwolle with local workgroup	zwolle.nl
N054	Waalwijk	Nov	2010-2012	'Kunst van Herinneren': IC w. TL, WN, TE and MU	De Horizon (grief counseling)	dehorizon.org
N055	Naarden	Nov	2010-2011	CM w. TE and MU	Alma Uitvaart Zorg (fc)	almauitvaartzorg.nl
N056	Den Helder	Oct	2010-2012	'Vormen van Herinneringen': CM on IC w. TE and MU	Sint Jozef cemetery	n/a
N057	Den Bosch	Nov	2010-2012	'Zielen in Gedachten': RW in cemetery	DELA (fi) & 3 local funeral companies	dela.nl
N058	Tilburg	Oct or Nov	2007-2012	'Herdenkingsdag': open cemetery w. MU	Crematorium Tilburg	crematoriumtilburg.nl
N059	Middelburg	June	2002-2011	'Concerto in Memoriam': CC in cemetery (evening)	Middelburgse begraafplaats (cemetery)	n/a

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N060	Amsterdam	2-nov	2005-2012	'Open cemetery (afternoon): BG, PF, coffee	Westgaarde cemetery	westgaarde.nl
N061	Amsterdam	2-nov	2008-2012	IC w. GL, PF and coffee	Vredenhof cemetery	pchooftgroep.nl
N062	Rijswijk	Several/year	2006-2012	CM w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N063	Vorden	2-nov	2009-2012	'Een Gedenk Moment': IC w. comm. ceremony and GL	Marion Polman Uitvaart Begeleiding (fc)	marionpolman.nl
N064	Kranenburg	2-nov	2009-2012	'Een Gedenk Moment': IC w. comm. ceremony and GL	Marion Polman Uitvaart Begeleiding (fc)	marionpolman.nl
N065	Amsterdam	Dec	2003-2009	'Eindejaars Requiem': CC in church (evening)	St. Eindejaarsrequiem (df)	eindejaarsrequiem.nl
N066	Lochem	Nov	2005-2012	'Requiemconcert': CC in church (afternoon)	St. Requiem Lochem (df)	stichtingrequiemlochem.nl
N067	Amsterdam	24-dec	2002-2012	'Lichtjesnacht': IC w. GL PF, WN, TL and MU	Zorgvlied cemetery	zorgvliedonline.nl
N068	Rotterdam	May	1999-2010, 2012	CM w. BC	Yarden (fi) & De Emmaüsgangers parish	yarden.nl
N069	The Hague	Several/year	2006-2012	CM/CC w. RN, BC, TL and PF or letting up balloons	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N070	Utrecht	Several/year	2002-2011	CM/CC, w. RN and BC, '12: 'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N071	Rotterdam	Several/year	2002-2012	CM/CC w. RN, BC and TL	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N072	Heemskerk	Dec	2005-2012	CM w. MU and cemetery visit w. GL afterwards	Local workgroup	n/a
N074	Usselo	Nov	2008	CM w. TE and MU, afterwards: IC	Crematoria Twente	crematoriatwente.nl
N075	Meppel	Dec	2009-2012	CM w. RN, BC and TL	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N076	Boxmeer	Nov	2007-2012	'In Memoriam Concert': CC in chapel (afternoon)	Uitvaartonderneming Schrijen (fc)	schrijen.com
N077	Vlaardingen	July	2007	'Herinneringsdag': CM, w. WS, TE and MU	Workgroup of local funeral companies	waaijersuitvaartverzorging.nl
N078	Amsterdam	2-nov	2006	CM w. comm. Mexican altar and MU	Uitvaartbegeleiding Merel Westermann (fc)	uitvaartamsterdam.nl
N079	Amsterdam	2-nov	2004	CM in auditorium w. RN, TE and MU	Zorgvlied cemetery & Laatste Riten (rg)	zorgvliedonline.nl
N080	Beverwijk	2-nov	2004-2009	'Weemoed & Deemoed': CM w. TE and MU (bereaved perform)	Kunst & Cultuur Beverwijk (af)	kunstencultuurbeverwijk.nl
N081	Nijmegen	Oct or Nov	2005-2011	Sing-a-long CC, '06: visit to IC	Monuta (fi)	monuta.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N082	Terneuzen	Dec	2005-2012	'Memorial Concert': CC	Monuta (fi)	monuta.nl
N083	Nieuwegein	Dec	2005-2010	'Memorial Concert': CC	Monuta (fi)	monuta.nl
N084	Beuningen	Nov	2010-2012	'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N085	Amsterdam	2-nov	2010-2012	'Allerzielen in het Vondelpark': Illuminated public park, TL in pond	Personal initiative	allerzieleninhetvondelpark.nl
N088	Maastricht	Nov	2008-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL (people attending nearby AS join later)	DELA (fi) & OLV van Lourdes parish	dela.nl
N089	Uden	Nov	2010	'Lichtjesavond': CM in church, and IC w. GL and TL	DELA (fi) & SOW kerk (prot. congr.)	dela.nl
N090	Dongen	Dec	2008-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL and "wish balloons"	DELA (fi) & Uitvaarverzorging van Berkel (fc)	dela.nl
N091	Goutum	Dec	2006	CM w. RN, BC and TL	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N093	Venlo	Oct or Nov	2006-2012	CM/CC, w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N094	Geldrop	Oct or Dec	2002-2012	CM/CC, w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi) & local partners	yarden.nl
N095	Alkmaar	May or June	2008-2011	CM/CC, w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N096	Flushing	Nov	2009	CM/CC, w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N097	Lochem	1-nov	2011-2012	'Leve de Namen': RW in cemetery	St. Levende Namen (df)	levendenamen.nl
N099	Groningen	Dec	2010	CC for Christmas	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N100	Heerlen	Several/year	2010-2012	CM/CC, w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N101	Goes	Oct	2010-2012	CM/CC, w. RN and BC or PF	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N102	Leiderdorp	Dec	2010-2012	'Gedenkdag': hospital's quiet room open for WN, TL and PF	Rijnland Ziekenhuis (hospital)	rijnland.nl
N103	Purmerend	Oct	2008-2011	'Voor lief en leed': TL, TE and MU	Waterlandziekenhuis (hospital)	wlz.nl
N104	Leeuwarden	Nov	2005-2012	'Herdenkingsdag': quiet room open for TL and PF	Medisch Centrum Leeuwarden (hospital)	znb.nl
N105	Woerden	2/year	2007	CM w. RN, PF, TE and MU	Zuwe Hofpoort Zorgcentra (he)	zuwezorg.nl
N106	Groningen	Nov	2010-2012	'Gedenkdag': several short CMs w. TE and MU	Martini hospital	mzh.nl
N108	Several	Nov	2000-2009, '11-'12	'Gedenkdag doden': hospital's quiet room open for WN and PF	Gelre Ziekenhuizen (hospital)	gelreziekenhuizen.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N109	Rotterdam	Several/year	1990-2012	CM w. TL, TE and MU	Antonius Ijsselmonde (hospital)	laurens.nl
N111	Hoogeveen	Several/year	1993-2012	CM w. RN and PF	Jannes van der Sleedenhuis (he)	jannes.nl
N112	Leiden	Nov	2004-2010	'Xantolo': comm. objects can be placed on Mexican altar	Museum for Ethnology & Colores de México (af)	coloresdemexico.nl
N113	Hardenberg	Feb	2010-2012	CM w. RN, BV, TE and MU	Hospice Hardenberg	hospicegroepvechtzathe.nl
N114	Bergen op Zoom	Sept	2008-2012	'Gedenkkring': CM w. RN	St. tanteLouise Vivensis (he)	tantelouise-vivensis.nl
N115	Wassenaar	Sept	2006-2012	CM w. RN and PF	Hospice Wassenaar	hospicewassenaar.nl
N116	Breda	2/year	2005-2012	CM w. RN, PF, TE and MU	Hospice Breda	hospicebreda.nl
N117	Zierikzee	Jan	2008-2012	CM w. RN, BC and MU	Hospice Schouwen-Duiveland & PKN Zierikzee	kaaskenshuis.nl
N119	Utrecht	2/year	2003-2012	CM w. TL and MU	Hospice Utrecht	hospiceutrecht.nl
N120	Leiden	4/year	2009	CM w. TE and MU	Hospice Issoria	issoria.nl
N121	Winterswijk	April	2003-2012	CM w. RN, BC, PF, TE and MU	Hospice De Lelie	hospicedelelie.nl
N122	Lochem	Nov	2005-2012	CM w. RN, BC, TE and MU	Huize Gudula (he)	zorggroepsintmaarten.nl
N123	Zwolle	Oct or Nov	2008-2012	'Liefdes-Viering voor Overledenen en Nabestaanden': CM w. RN	Practicum Arcanum (spiritual counselor)	zinkompas.nl
N125	Roermond	31-okt	2010-2012	'Allerzielenloop': group walk from chapel to cemetery, w. IC	St. Oude Kerkhof (cemetery foundation)	oudekerkhofroermond.nl
N126	Landsmeer	Nov	2011-2012	'Herdenken voor Iedereen': IC w. GL, PF, TE and MU	Nanda Nijstad, Ritueelbegeleider (rg)	nandanijstad.nl
N127	Utrecht	Nov	2006-2012	'Ritme van de Rouw': RW inside a church	Alting & Partners (fc)	altinguitvaart.nl
N128	The Hague	2-nov	2010	'Eten als Einde': CM w. TE, MU and cemetery tour	Stroom (af)	stroom.nl
N129	Rosmalen	2-nov	2008-2012	'Allerzielen Verlicht': IC w. short comm. ceremony	ArtsLommelen Uitvaartverzorging (fc)	artslommelen.nl
N130	Zwanenburg	3-nov	2011-2012	'Allerzielen Alom': RW in cemetery	AA Foundation & Pier-K (af)	simonedegroot.nl
N131	Den hout	Oct	2011	'Allerzielen.nu': RW in cemetery and in church	Schatten van Brabant (af)	schattenvanbrabant.nl
N132	Arnhem	Dec	2011-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL and "wish balloons"	DELA (fi) & Moscowa crematorium	dela.nl

Code	Location	Time of year	Period	Description	Organization	Link
N133	Niekerk	Nov	2011-2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL	Local workgroup	n/a
N134	Zweeloo	Dec	2011-2012	IC w. GL, TL, drinks and WN	Uitvaartvereniging DLE (fc)	uitvaartverenigingzweeloo.nl
N135	Dordrecht	Nov	2011-2012	CC w. TE	De Essenhof cemetery	essenhof.nl
N136	Leiderdorp	Jan	2012	'Troostdag': CM w. TE and MU	Marian de Valk Uitvaartbegeleiding (fc)	www,mariandevalk.nl
N138	The Hague	2-nov	2012	In Memoriam': CM w. MU and videopresentations, also: IC	Local funeral company & St. Barbara cemetery	paxrkb.nl
N139	Diepenveen	Nov	2012	'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N140	Budel	Nov	2011-2012	'Allerzielen Allicht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi) & local partners	yarden.nl
N141	Lelystad	Nov	2012	'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N142	Mill	Nov	2012	'Allerzielen Herdacht': RW in funeral park	Yarden (fi) & van Dijk uitvaart (fc)	yarden.nl
N143	Kloetinge	Nov	2012	CM, w. RN, BG, TL, TE and MU	Yarden (fi)	yarden.nl
N144	Eindhoven	Nov	2012	'Lichtjesavond': IC w. GL	DELA (fi)	dela.nl
N145	Hoogezand	Nov	2012	'Licht met Allerzielen': RW in cemetery	Local workgroup	verliesenverbinding.nl
N146	Eindhoven	Nov	2012	'De Kunst van het Herdenken': RW in cemetery	Doeat Uitvaart (fc)	doeat.nl
N147	Oldenzaal	Nov	2006-2012	'Stilstaan bij Verdergaan': IC, w. GL and MU	Nolet Uitvaartbegeleiding (fc)	noletbult.nl
N148	Breda	Sept	2012	'Remind Me': RW on two cemeteries (daytime)	AA Foundation & Schatten van Brabant (af)	allerzielen.nu
N149	Callantsoog	Nov	2012	TL in beach-side bar	Restaurant De Strandtent	destrandtent.nl
N151	Leeuwarden	Nov	2012	CM w. RN, TL and MU (in the cemetery tearoom)	Theehuis Noorderbegraafplaats (fc)	theehuisleeuwarden.nl
N152	Driehuis	2-nov	2012	'Gedenken op Westerveld': RW in cemetery (w. live tv broadcast)	Facultatieve Groep (fi) & KRO (tv network)	bc-westerveld.nl
N153	Leusden	24-dec	2011-2012	'Kerstavondherdenking': IC w. WN and drinks	Rusthof Leusden cemetery	n/a

Appendix 2

Fieldwork

Interviews conducted:

27-May-2011	Liturgist of the Rotterdam diocese
8-Jul-2011	Head of the flower workgroup of the Goede Reede in Veenendaal
12-Oct-2011	Head of the liturgical workgroup of the Goede Reede in Veenendaal
19-Oct-2011	Chair of the Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht foundation
19-Oct-2011	Head of the Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht project group
25-Oct-2011	Head of the 'Allerzielen in 't Licht' project group in Oudewater
8-Nov-2011	Liturgist of the Rotterdam diocese (2nd interview)
20-Nov-2011	Head of the flower workgroup of the Goede Reede in Veenendaal
30-Nov-2011	Head of the greenery department of the municipality of Velsen (e-mail)
7-Dec-2011	Head of the 'Allerzielen in 't Licht' project group in Oudewater
9-Oct-2012	Minister of the De Ark church in Reeuwijk
16-Oct-2012	Member of the wake workgroup of the Oudewater parish (e-mail)
23-Oct-2012	Pastor of the Saint Francis parish in Oudewater
30-Oct-2012	Head of the choir workgroup of the De Ark church in Reeuwijk
9-Nov-2012	Floor manager of Yarden Nieuw Eykenduynen in The Hague
5-Dec-2012	The Pastoral Partner in The Hague

Participant observation during meetings:

12-Oct-2011	Preparatory meeting of 'Allerzielen in 't Licht' in Oudewater
24-Oct-2011	Volunteer meeting in Velsen
28-Nov-2011	Evaluation meeting in Velsen
12-Jan-2012	Evaluation meeting at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
19-Sep-2012	Preparatory meeting of 'Allerzielen in 't Licht' in Oudewater

3-Oct-2012	Preparatory meeting in Velsen
8-Oct-2012	Preparatory meeting of the All Souls' Day mass in Oudewater
17-Oct-2012	Preparatory meeting in Velsen
23-Oct-2012	Preparatory meeting of 'Allerzielen in 't Licht' in Oudewater
24-Oct-2012	Preparatory meeting in Velsen
30-Oct-2012	Preparatory meeting at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
1-Nov-2012	Preparatory meeting at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
8-Nov-2012	Preparatory meeting at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
9-Nov-2012	Preparatory meeting at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
7-Dec-2012	Evaluation meeting of 'Allerzielen in 't Licht' in Oudewater
20-Dec-2012	Preparatory meeting in Velsen
16-Jan-2013	Evaluation meeting at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal

Participant observation during rites:

2-Nov-2011	Allerzielen in 't Licht in Oudewater
9-Nov-2011	Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht in Velsen
20-Nov-2011	Eternity Sunday service at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
1-Nov-2012	Requiem concert at the De Ark church in Reeuwijk
2-Nov-2012	Allerzielen in 't Licht in Oudewater
2-Nov-2012	All Souls' Day mass at the Saint Francis church in Oudewater
7-Nov-2012	Allerzielen Velsen Verlicht in Velsen
25-Nov-2012	Eternity Sunday service at the Goede Reede church in Veenendaal
28-Nov-2012	Commemorative church service at the De Ark church in Reeuwijk
9-Dec-2012	Commemorative meeting at Yarden Nieuw Eykenduynen

Appendix 3

Summary

This dissertation begins with showcasing a single ritual All Souls' Day project taking place in the Dutch town of Oudewater. Straight away, however, it becomes clear that in order to understand this project, it needs to be seen in the light of larger issues. Not only is this ritual project part of a larger Dutch phenomenon, but this phenomenon, in turn, proves to be a salient case study for investigating ritual dynamics in our late modern times in general. The combined study of these two themes, i.e., the emergence of a ritual field of collective commemoration, and the things this emergence can teach us about contemporary ritual dynamics, provides the backbone of this dissertation. By studying ritual dynamics at its social level, both on a macro- and on a micro-scale, at the level of the dynamics of history, as well as at the level of its structural dynamics, varied topics such as the emergence of this ritual field, the role of tradition in this emergence, the challenges faced by those involved in its emergence, and the concept of ritual design are explored. Brought together, these investigations allow us to consider the ritual dynamics informing the emergence of a ritual field of collective commemoration in its entirety, and to extrapolate on these findings in order to contribute to our understanding of religion in late modernity.

First, however, chapter one sets the stage by defining the wider category of collective commemorations that is at the heart of this dissertation, and by highlighting the various stages of research informing it. In particular, chapter one argues that what most fundamentally informs the concept of collective commemoration, as it is used in these pages, is the idea that 'collective' in this sense serves as a double referent. It refers both to those who are commemorating and to those who are being commemorated. As such, it rules out both commemorations conducted in private or small inclusive groups, as well as commemorations of individuals or of specific categories of the deceased, such as the war dead or those who died of a particular disease. All Souls' Day is the perfect example of such a rite, but as the findings put forward here illustrate, it is far from the only ritual practice fitting the bill. As to the methodologies employed to investigate the rites falling within this category, two stages can be identified. The first stage concerned the construction of a large database of various rites of collective commemoration and served as the foundation for chapters two and three. The second stage consisted of ethnographic fieldwork regarding six cases selected from the database. For both stages, several methodological issues had to be considered. In the case of the database, this concerned the choice to focus on the organizational

dimension, the make-up of the database itself, comprised of rites organized in Catholic, Protestant, and non-ecclesial settings, and the sources to be used. In the latter case, an online research strategy was involved, making use of a variety of websites to acquire data. For fieldwork, the main methodological consideration pertained to the criteria used to come to a selection of cases that was both varied and representative. A further consideration pertained to the methods of recording: audio recordings were made of the interviews whereas extensive note taking was used for the participant observation during the rites themselves as well as for the preparatory meetings that were attended.

As stated, this dissertation starts with the claim that an All Souls' Day event in the town of Oudewater could actually be said to be part of a larger phenomenon, with similar collective commemorations being found in other Catholic parishes, in Protestant congregations, and even outside the churches. Chapter two further explores that claim. It asks how this wider phenomenon should be classified or categorized. How do these Catholic, Protestant, and non-ecclesial rites relate to one another? Can these various rites even be said to be part of one phenomenon if they are affiliated with different institutions? In light of such questions, it is argued that we are in fact dealing with something that can be dubbed a "ritual field." In order to assess this claim, use is made of Fligstein and McAdam's theory of fields, from which a set of five criteria is distilled. Applying these criteria, it becomes clear that the phenomenon can indeed be qualified as the emergence of a strategic action field geared towards collective commemoration. In other words, it could be described as an emerging ritual field. The emergence of this ritual field was evidently made possible by the religious crisis of the 1960s, which created an arena for innovation in which the idea of organizing collective commemorations was opened up to a wider range of social actors. Next, within this arena, these social actors started to become more oriented towards each other, and have also begun to share more and more ways in which this arena is understood. In terms of ritual dynamics, these developments show us how, on the macro-level, societal upheaval might first seem to lead to decline, but instead turns out to function as a springboard for renewal. Interestingly, within the new constellation that has emerged, things still have not yet fully stabilized themselves, and show signs that they might not even do so at all.

Chapter three sets the issue of social dynamics aside for a moment and instead focuses on the dynamics of history, asking what role tradition has played in the emergence of this ritual field. In particular, it is argued that labeling the emergence of this field as simply being a matter of bricolage or ritual invention is not doing justice to the reality of the situation. Instead, it is argued that the way tradition figured into the emergence of this field can best be described as "innovating with traditions." Again, explorations were made of the entries of the database, with its subdivision making it possible to approach the issue at hand from three angles: the Catholic subcategory provided a setting with a prior tradition of collective commemoration, the Protestant one a setting without such a prior tradition, and the non-ecclesial subcategory concerned a setting where what was missing was

not only a prior tradition but also a community to carry it. This also highlighted the seemingly inherent instability of the emerging ritual field again. Rather than invention of tradition, we seem to be dealing with a fluid network of emerging, renewing, and interconnected local traditions which are the result of people innovating by taking elements from various traditions, chief among them being those associated with Catholic All Souls' Day practices. Traditions, in other words, are both made use of and aimed for. In terms of ritual dynamics, this implies that tradition itself has been swooped up in the dynamics affecting ritual. In late modernity, tradition itself has seemingly become much more "dynamized."

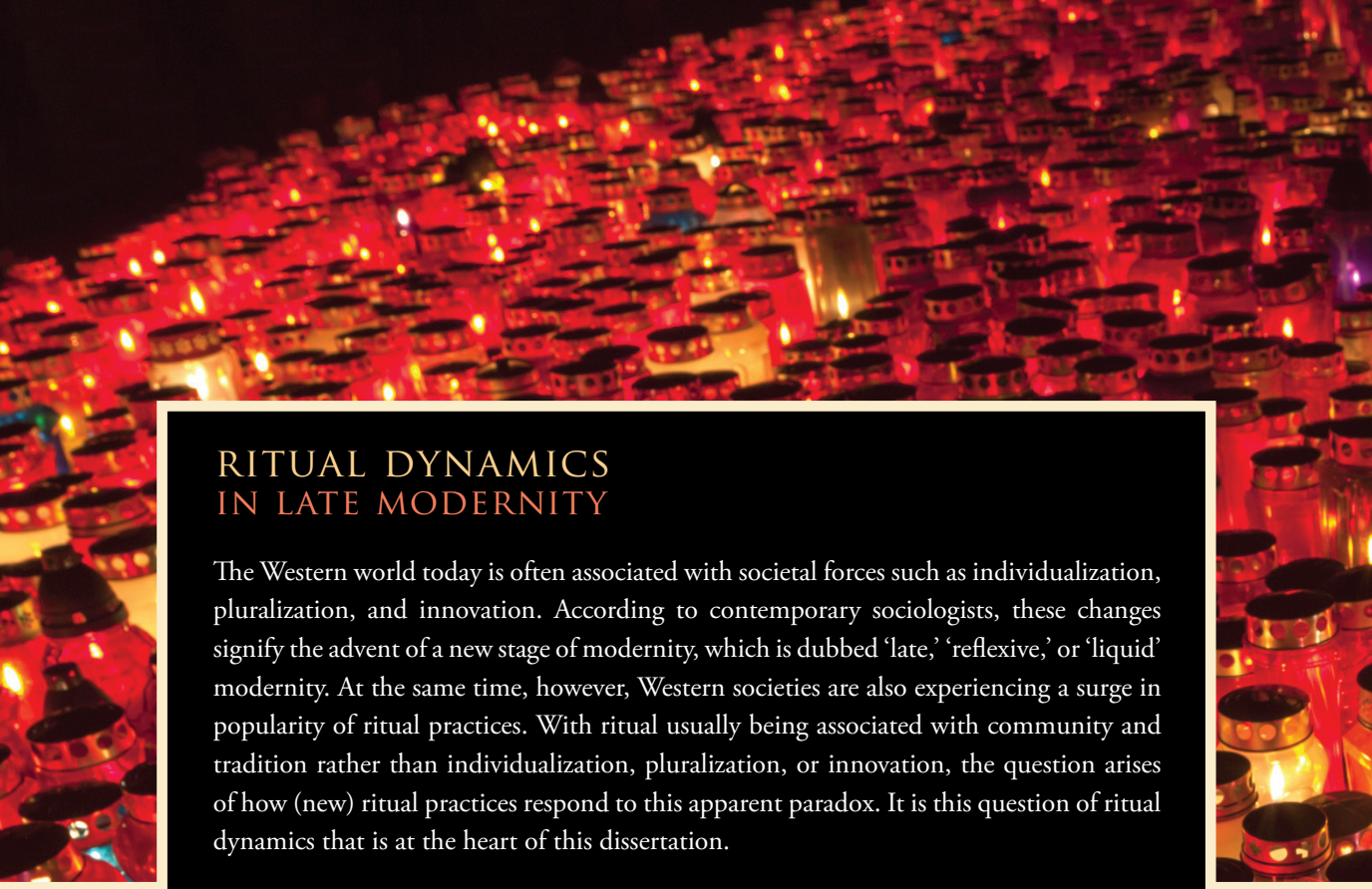
The fourth chapter revisits the level of social dynamics, albeit this time on a more local scale. As was mentioned above, instability can be considered an inherent quality of modernity. Conversely, ritual is traditionally considered to be about stability. This chapter deals with what happens when people concern themselves with ritual, despite the instability of our late modern times. In particular, it argues that a specific set of challenges can be identified with which these people are confronted and that these are overcome by an attitude of embracing the very aspects that characterize contemporary society. This attitude is dubbed "liquid ritualizing," and is contrasted to earlier forms of "rooted" ritualizing. Unlike in the previous chapters, such findings were not based on the data contained in the database, but on fieldwork conducted at six locations where collective commemorations were organized. The challenges looked at concerned creating a "good" ritual, attracting an audience, and ensuring repetition. The attitude of "liquid ritualizing" with which these challenges were addressed, and with which the opportunities hidden within them were identified, are an openness towards ritual transfer, the importance of networks, the importance of locality, and, finally, an embracing of instability as a virtue as much as a vice. This ambivalent stance towards instability is particularly interesting when talking about ritual. On the one hand, such instability is challenged when wanting to construct and maintain local traditions and identities. On the other hand, the liquidity of late modern society is made good use of in the methods employed to achieve these goals. Both ritual transfer, i.e., innovating with traditions, and networking rely on such liquidity. The result is a sort of dynamic balancing act between innovation and repetition within which the former comes easiest in late modern times, thereby turning the latter into something that has to be worked for in order to achieve it.

The fifth, and final, chapter concerns itself with the level of structural dynamics by tackling a paradigm within the field of ritual studies which focuses very much on what is called "ritual design." By exploring a range of various theoretical concepts in relation to a specific set of examples from the ritual field investigated here, it asks what structural aspects of ritual are obscured when rites are only studied from the viewpoints of this popular paradigm. As in the previous chapter, these examples are taken from the six case studies that were studied through participant observation. Analyzing these examples showed that there is, indeed, more to ritual than its design alone. First, conflating framing too much with ritualizing means the set-apart nature of ritual is easily overlooked. Second,

when focusing on verifiable efficacy, like the ritualists themselves tend to do, non-verifiable efficacy is easily lost sight of. Third, paying attention to ritual failures helps show the fragility of ritual design, yet tends to hide the resilience of ritual performance and the importance of emergence. Fourth, and finally, focusing on ongoing innovation and change means the impact of time and repetition is too easily relegated to the sidelines. Interestingly, it was also shown that the ritualists involved seem to be more aware of such oversights than ritual scholars generally appear to be, a fact that might be credited to their desire to make use of such structural ritual dynamics in order to achieve certain goals in a setting in which such things generally do not tend to last. When approaching such findings from the perspective of ritual dynamics in general, it now becomes clear why it is important to study such dynamics at all its levels. Ritual is not only dynamic in the sense that it changes over time through the actions of various agents and in response to various social changes, but also in that its structural dynamics make it transformative in its own right.

Although the four main chapters outlined above each tackles their own question, these questions also build upon one another and bring forth a final, more fundamental, issue: if all of the different levels at which ritual dynamics are at play within the ritual field of collective commemoration are taken into account, what does this tell us about the position of ritual and its dynamics in our late modern world? It is by considering this final question that the wider relevance of this dissertation becomes apparent as well. Not only can rites of collective commemoration be considered a telling example of what is happening with ritual in our current times, ritual itself can be taken as a telling example of what is happening to religion and culture in late modernity. As we saw, ritual dynamics can be identified on various levels, and each of the four main chapters asked a question pertaining to one such level. Bringing these levels together, it becomes apparent that whereas ritual has adapted to the fluidity of late modernity on the level of social and historical dynamics, its structural dynamics are instead relied upon to challenge that same fluidity. After the religious crisis that marks the beginning of late modernity, the fluidity of society at large seems to have been very much embraced in how traditions have become resources rather than guidelines, in how ritualizing is given shape in order to deal with contemporary challenges and opportunities, and in how the social relationships underpinning these processes are given form. In this regard, ritual today could almost be said to be hyperdynamic. Contemporary ritual is also dynamic in another sense, however. This is evident in how traditions are not only made use of selectively but are also aimed for, as well as in how the structural dynamics of the rites themselves are relied upon to achieve such goals. In other words, while ritual has, in response to the fluidity of late modernity, become much more dynamic on the social and historical level, its own structural dynamics provide those involved with a way to challenge that very fluidity as well. Ritual, in other words, has shown itself to be capable of adapting to its late modern context, but at the same time engages that context as well and, as such, helps shape it. This final claim is relevant not only

because of what it might tell us about the role of ritual in late modernity, but also because it might help us understand how other aspects of religion or culture in general have been affected by – or are affecting – late modernity as well. Such issues cannot be addressed on the basis of the data discussed here, of course, but at the very least, the claims made here regarding ritual dynamics can also be used as a springboard to tackle such questions in other domains.



RITUAL DYNAMICS
IN LATE MODERNITY

The Western world today is often associated with societal forces such as individualization, pluralization, and innovation. According to contemporary sociologists, these changes signify the advent of a new stage of modernity, which is dubbed 'late,' 'reflexive,' or 'liquid' modernity. At the same time, however, Western societies are also experiencing a surge in popularity of ritual practices. With ritual usually being associated with community and tradition rather than individualization, pluralization, or innovation, the question arises of how (new) ritual practices respond to this apparent paradox. It is this question of ritual dynamics that is at the heart of this dissertation.

In order to tackle this question of ritual dynamics, this study explores a set of case studies pertaining to a renewed interest in the Netherlands in All Souls' Day practices and related rites of collective commemoration. Having acquired data on the organizational dimension of these ritual practices through both online research and ethnographic fieldwork, these data are then used to enter into dialogue with a selection of theoretical works. These works stem from the social sciences, in particular sociology, as well as the interdisciplinary field of ritual studies.

By being founded in original data, while involving larger theoretical issues, this study is able to critically reflect on ritual dynamics on three distinct levels. The first level pertains to the dynamics of history, looking at the role of traditions; the second concerns social dynamics and pertains to ritual fields as well as the challenges faced by contemporary ritualists; the third, structural dynamic level, deals with ritual design. It is by bringing these various levels together, finally, that the role of ritual dynamics in late modernity is put into perspective. Interestingly, this perspective has potential implications for understanding contemporary religion in general as well.

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